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ABSTRACT

Pluralistic ignorance is a misconception by members of a group. Pupil control ideology is the attitudes of school personnel concerning their relations with pupils and the problems of pupil conduct conceptualized on a custodial-humanistic continuum. The subjects for this study were 87 teachers and 119 counselors; the instrument used contained four forms, one asking respondents for their own reactions to 20 items dealing with pupil conduct and the others asking them to estimate the responses of the typical teacher, counselor, and principal to the same items. All mean estimates of typical teacher ideology were significantly greater than the mean of teacher self scores. Pluralistic ignorance existed among teachers, counselors, and principals for the ideology associated with the role of teacher. Teachers and counselors were inaccurate in the same custodial direction regarding the principal's role. The estimates of counselor ideology by teachers were not inaccurate, and those given by principals were close but generally inaccurate in a humanistic direction. It is believed that popular images of the roles contributed to the findings, with teachers and principals typically seen as conservative and concerned with managerial problems, while counselors are thought of as relatively pupil centered. (Author/MBM)

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PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE AND PUPIL CONTROL IDEOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This study shows pluralistic ignorance among teachers, counselors and principals with regard to pupil control ideology. Pluralistic ignorance refers to the shared misperception of an attitude or belief held by members of a group. Pupil control ideology has to do with the attitudes or orientations of school personnel concerning their relations with pupils and the problems of pupil conduct conceptualized on a custodial-humanistic continuum. Pluralistic ignorance was found among group members when opportunities for the expression of personal beliefs was limited by strong norms and insulated social interactions. It has been shown that teachers' pupil control ideology is more conservative or custodial than that of principals and counselors. Members of these latter groups have somewhat more humanistic or liberal orientations toward students. There is reason to believe that the members of each group inaccurately attribute pupil control views to their colleagues. There is a well documented, conservative, normative influence in schools. This can be noticed in the reluctance of adults to narrow status differences between themselves and pupils. The traditional architectual and social patterns of education organizations restrict chances for observing the behavior of colleagues. Exceptions to these conditions were believed to exist for principals and counselor interactions.

This study predicted that teachers would be seen as much more custodial by all than teachers would report themselves to be. Similarly, it was expected that teachers would exhibit conservative

pluralistic ignorance for the pupil control ideology of principals and counselors. Pluralistic ignorance would not exist between principals and counselors.

Form PCI, the pupil control ideology instrument, was mailed to equal numbers of public school teachers, principals and counselors in Pennsylvania. The instrument contained four forms. The first asked respondents to give their own reactions to the twenty Likert type items dealing with pupil conduct issues. The other forms instructed them to estimate the responses of the typical teacher, counselor and principal for the same twenty items. Summated scores were obtained for each form for every respondent. Means for each form were determined for the three groups, and compared using the Behrens-Fisher $\underline{t}$ test with the Welch solution. The selection of respondents was controlled on the dimensions of school size and teaching level. Usable returns came from 87 teachers, 112 principals and 119 counselors. Pluralistic ignorance was operationally defined in terms of the difference between self-scores and the corresponding attributed means.

All mean estimates of typical teacher ideology were significantly greater than the mean of teacher self scores. Pluralistic ignorance existed among teachers, counselors and principals for the ideology associated with the role of teacher. Teachers and counselors were inaccurate in the same custodial direction regarding the principal role. The estimates of counselor ideology by teachers were not inaccurate, and those given by principals were close but generally inaccurate in a humanistic direction. In short, the pupil control ideology for occupants of the counselor role appeared to be understood. Estimates of teacher and principal role ideology were by comparison grossly off the mark.

It is speculated that popular images for these roles contributed to the findings. Teachers and principals are typically felt to be conservative, concerned with managerial problems. Counselors are thought of as relatively pupil centered. Expectations established by these notions may set the stage for predictable role behaviors and role perceptions. The importance of pupil control issues may provide for episodic organizational events when the selectivity given to the expression and perception of role behavior feeds back on role images in dramatic fashion. In support of this idea there exists an exaggeration of dissension. Here the stable differences in actual pupil control ideology are greatly magnified. Further, the existence of conservative pluralistic ignorance for teacher and principal ideologies tends to reaffirm the suspicion that school social interactions result in a questionable goal achievement posture on the part of the organization.

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CHAPTER I

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

Introduction

There is much evidence which suggests that pupil control problems are basic features of the daily lives of both adult and client personnel in schools.(5, 27-29, 54, 61-70) It has been reported that custodial pupil control norms are salient structures of the teacher subculture that influence a variety of role relationships and activities in schools. (69) Prior research shows that differences in pupil control ideologies are related to organizational position and school level.(67) Specifically, teachers have been shown to be more custodial in their orientation to pupils than are principals or counselors; and secondary school personnel have been shown to be more custodial in ideology than their elementary school counterparts. It is to be expected that differences in ideology would be sources of conflict in schools unless there are mechanisms that operate to mask them.

Another line of research shows that there are circumstances in which large numbers of people misperceive norms, attitudes and ideologies of groups of other persons. This phenomenon is called pluralistic ignorance.(32) The manner in which this happens seems to be tied to opportunities for the public and private expression of behavior and viewpoints.(1, 33) In social settings where a strong norm prevails, visible, public behavior is likely to indicate support for the norm regardless of the personal ideologies of the actors. If, at the same time, there are few areas of activity in which private values and feelings can be expressed, then most observable behavior is apt to be normative rather than personalistic. In such circumstances, the public attitude may be believed to have the support of the group, yet a careful examination of private ideologies would prove otherwise. Lack of observation and communication in non-public areas has obscured this discrepancy.

In many respects schools fit the model used to explain the occurrence of pluralistic ignorance. Thus, it is plausible that there is pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideologies. Since pupil control norms are apt to be relatively rigid or custodial, the occurrence of pluralistic ignorance would mean that the actual prevailing attitude of adults about pupils is more permissive or humanistic than the majority of school personnel believe it to be.

The purpose of this study is to uncover the incidence, direction, and pervasiveness of pluralistic ignorance concerning pupil control ideology in public schools specifically for the roles, teacher, principal and counselor. If the majority of these role incumbents have exaggerated views of others' pupil control values and expectations, then it may also indicate that opportunities for behavior of a non-custodial kind are restricted, and that the school organization suffers other constraints that could inhibit organizational response to pupil needs. A first step to remove these constraints is to understand them.

A Clue to the Relationship Between Pupil Control Norms and Pupil Control Ideologies

In a longitudinal study Hoy(27, 28) found that teachers tend to become more custodial in their pupil control ideology from the time prior to student teaching to the end of their second year of teaching. He concluded that the socialization process by which new teachers become part of the "teacher subculture" is responsible for this change. This means that as new teachers learn the norms of the teacher subculture their original ideologies about teacher-pupil relationships are modified. This suggests that norms are related to personal ideologies in such a manner that as neophytes become members of a subculture there is a resulting congruency between ideologies and norms. The pupil control norms of the "teacher subculture"(54) are relatively custodial. New teachers having humanistic pupil ideologies gain the acceptance of their more experienced colleagues by behaving in a manner which indicates that they accept the established norms. In the process, personal ideologies change in the direction of the perceived norm; that is, they become more custodial. (27, 28) However, the process is a complex one. There is reason to think that norms are misperceived, and that changes in ideology are in response to pressures that are intensified in the context of pluralistic ignorance.

Teacher Subculture

Obviously the notion of subculture is derived from the term culture. Neither is standardized in social science usage. Taken here, we mean those ideals for behavior shared by members of a social system.(3) In terms of schools, we find at least two subcultures existing simultaneously, and often in conflict: the teacher subculture and the student subculture.(54) The teacher subculture is generated initially by common training and by the assignment of persons to similar roles within similar organizations. It is maintained by emergent properties growing out of the interactions among its members and their common experiences with clients and superiors, as well as the public. Among these shared properties are standards for teacher-pupil relations including the manner in which interactions are to be carried out and to what ends. It is not usually the case that individual behavior perfectly matches these standards.(3) Instead, ideal behavior is variously approximated by real behavior. This means that pupil control norms of the teacher subculture are conceived as general, and actual behavior is a blend of subcultural prescriptions and personal style. However, in cases where members of the teacher subculture are visible to one another, there is a special pressure to conform to shared standards for behavior.

Definition of Terms

In other sections of this chapter theoretical meanings of terms basic to this research are presented. The operational definitions of these terms are presented here with an indication of the correspondence between the theoretical and empirical aspects of this investigation.

Pupil Control Ideology-Conceptually this term refers to the personal attitudes and beliefs a school employee holds for his interactions with pupils. Operationally the pupil control ideology of teachers, guidance counselors, and principals will be estimated from their scores on the Pupil Control Ideology Form (Form PCI) form 1. A copy of the PCI Form may be found in Appendix A. Reliability and validity estimates for the measure are found in Chapter III.

Humanistic Pupil Control Ideology-Permissive persons who prefer to work in an informal atmosphere are typical of Type H. These people view the behavior of pupils in psychological and sociological rather than moralistic terms. Engagement in worthwhile activities is viewed as more important to the pupils learning than is the absorption of facts. The withdrawing pupil is seen as a problem equal to that of the overactive one. These persons are optimistic that through close personal relationships with pupils and the positive aspects of friendship and respect, the pupils will learn to discipline themselves. Such persons desire a democratic school organization with flexibility in rules, increased pupil self-determination, and two-way communication between pupils and adults. The difference between the status of adults in schools and that of pupils is minimized. Adults and pupils alike are willing to act upon their own volition and to accept responsibility for their actions. (67)

Custodial Pupil Control Ideology-Traditional persons who prefer to work in the formal atmosphere of a traditional school are typical of Type C. The primary concern of these people is that of maintaining order among pupils. These people think of pupils in terms of stereotypes based upon appearance, behavior, and parents' social status. They look upon pupils as irresponsible and undisciplined; therefore, they believe punishment to be a necessary form of control. These people do not attempt to understand pupils' behavior, but instead, view misbehavior in moralistic terms or as a personal affront. Persons holding this viewpoint tend to treat pupils impersonally, to mistrust them, and to be generally pessimistic. These persons prefer an autocratic school organization where adult-pupil status is rigidly enforced and pupils accept communications and orders without question. Teachers and pupils alike feel responsible for their actions only to the extent that orders are carried out to the letter.(67) The higher a person's PCI Form score, the more custodial he is said to be.

Pupil Control Ideology of Others-A basic assumption of this investigation is that a person may believe that another person may hold a certain set of personal beliefs and attitudes about an event. It is also assumed this person may believe he can tell the nature of the ideology of another. Consequently, it is plausible that a person may believe he can tell the nature of the ideology of a group of others; that is, he can say that persons of this type have certain attitudes about an event. For the purposes of this study, the pupil control ideology of others will be estimated from Form PCI scores from the responses of school employees about the pupil control ideology of typical teachers, typical guidance counselors, and typical principals. This means that each respondent will complete four PCI forms, one for himself and three for the typical occupants of the school positions noted. The pupil control ideologies of typical others will be the mean PCI scores attributed to them by each different set of respondents. The instrument used in this study may be found in Appendix A. Reliability and validity estimates are given in Chapter III.

Pluralistic Ignorance-This term refers to empirical cases where the consensus of what is known about others is not supported by the majority of persons about whom the attributions are made. The discrepancy between attributed and actual beliefs is not seen. Pluralistic ignorance has many varieties, two of which we shall investigate here. The first is when the majority of the members of a group hold different beliefs than they think the majority of that same group holds. The second is when the members of one group attribute a set of beliefs to the majority of members of another group, yet the actual prevalence of beliefs among the members of the second group is different. For our purposes, pluralistic ignorance will be said to be present when the mean pupil control ideology score attributed to the typical member of a group is significantly different from the mean PCI score calculated from the responses of members of that group. For example, should the mean PCI Form score of teachers' own responses differ significantly from those attributed to the typical teacher by teachers, or by principals, or by counselors, pluralistic ignorance will be said to be present.

Pluralistic Ignorance and Pupil Control Ideology

The literature on pluralistic ignorance shows quite clearly that norms may be perceived inaccurately. (49, 50) The general process by which this happens is believed to lie in conditions that restrict observation and communication. Katz and Allport(32) showed how fraternity men withheld membership from certain students because they believed that most fraternity members expected this behavior. They found that the majority of the members held no such expectations. Miles(41) found conservative pluralistic ignorance among teachers concerning instructional innovation. A most intriguing question is -- Why do people misperceive norms? The answer has not been clearly established.

Goffman, (20) in his studies of the ways in which people communicate, wrote about "on stage" and "off stage" behavior. The former takes place in visible situations where a certain propriety is demanded. In these circumstances, persons act according to the expectations which they believe the situation demands. "Off stage" behavior occurs in places where one may relax and reveal more personal qualities. In schools "on stage" behavior would occur in the presence of pupils and adult members of the organization, or in the presence of adults from the supporting community. Assemblies, study periods, lunch rooms, hallways, public events and teachers' meetings are examples. "Off stage" behavior would occur in places of low visibility. Athletic coaches, chorus, play and band directors and their charges are often in low visibility situations after school and on trips. (67) Classrooms are areas of relatively low visibility and may be included in this category although there are some obvious differences. Likewise, counselors and principals are often "on stage" outside of their offices, but "off stage" in their offices. Thus we find principals making custodial demands of students in areas of high visibility but being rather humanistic when isolated with a student in the office. The same is quite likely true of counselors and to some degree of teachers.

In areas where there is high visibility, behavior is usually normative. That is, people act in ways which they believe are generally acceptable. In schools where client compliance is held as critical and vulnerability to public criticism is great, normal, accepted, visible behavior is conservative, likely indicating to others a relatively custodial pupil control orientation. (8, 9) Even in faculty lounges where the cult of professionalism is paid lip service, conversations about pupil control issues support a custodial norm. (69) Though little is known that directly explains recurring custodial viewpoints in schools, many observations of teacher behavior concerning pupils substantiate this notion. There is some evidence to indicate that beginning teachers regard pupil control as a major task. (27, 28) Also, there is evidence which suggests that school personnel believe the public demands or desires strong pupil control practices. (9) Furthermore, there is the folk theme of the rigid school "marm" versus the classroom troublemaker. Finally, there is the popular image of rebellious youth.(3) Perhaps these, along with the mandated attendance feature of school organizations, meld as a source of custodial pupil control norms.

At any rate, in "on stage" areas in schools, adult behavior is likely to be performed so that it can be interpreted as supporting this norm. Waller(54) suggested that one does not really become a teacher until he has sufficiently indicated that only teachers are of any importance.

In the "off stage" areas of school life, it is more likely that personal ideologies will be expressed. That is, the situation is defined not in the light of normative expectations but on the basis of interpersonal relations. It has been found that teacher behavior in the classroom changes when an administrator is in the room.(70) A basketball coach is likely to show a different interactive style with his players during practice or on trips than during a game or an awards assembly. The same shift in behavioral styles seems common for all adult school employees including custodians, cafeteria workers, and bus drivers.

Hypotheses Concerning Pluralistic Ignorance and Pupil Control Ideology

In summary, when school personnel observe their colleagues or superiors interacting with or talking about pupils, they are likely to get an impression of their behavior which is different than if they could observe the total range of interactions in secrecy. "On stage" behavior is normative; "off stage" behavior may be more personalistic. Adults in schools most often are "on stage" with their colleagues and give the impression of a custodial orientation. Hence, it is expected that when colleagues are asked to predict each other's pupil control ideology, it is likely to be more custodial than that reported by holders of the ideology.

However, the interaction patterns among occupants of different positions in schools may vary. In terms of their orientation to pupils, principals and counselors may interact with each other in "off stage" settings more than they do with teachers. In some schools, it is common for counselors and principals jointly to handle pupil personnel problems. Teachers have less opportunity to observe each other as well as principals and counselors in "off stage" settings. Because of these relationships and the impressions given by actors "on stage," we predict that pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideologies will be found as indicated in the following theoretical hypotheses.

1. Teachers will perceive the pupil control ideology of teachers to be more custodial than teachers, themselves, report.

2. Teachers will perceive the pupil control ideology of principals to be more custodial than principals, themselves, report.

3. Teachers will perceive the pupil control ideology of counselors to be more custodial than counselors, themselves, report.

4. Principals will perceive the pupil control ideology of teachers to be more custodial than teachers, themselves, report.

5. Counselors will perceive the pupil control ideology of teachers to be more custodial than teachers, themselves, report.

6. Principals will not be significantly inaccurate about the reported pupil control ideology of counselors.

7. Counselors will not be significantly inaccurate about the reported pupil control ideology of principals.

Intentions Underlying the Study

It is clear that schools have been presented with a mandate for significant change. However, if there is fundamental disagreement between superiors and subordinates, and among incumbents of different organizational positions, if there are perceptions which distort personal values and isolate individuals in apparent conflict with majority opinion, then even effective planning for change seems improbable.

Very often an attempted instructional innovation fails to realize its potential because school personnel anticipate that the innovation will alter structures that maintain student compliance. In fact, it seems apparent that many common structures and techniques employed in schools are in one way or another felt to contribute to more effective pupil control. Yet it is equally apparent that these same structures make even meager modifications difficult. For to the extent that existing pupil control structures might be altered, there is a corresponding suspicion that pupil control problems will increase. Instructional innovations, after all, often require more open and permissive processes with regard to students.

If the theory of pluralistic ignorance is not put in serious question by tests of the hypotheses derived from it, then it may mean the fears attending innovation are abeted by a peculiar system of interaction which leads school personnel to believe that majority opinion is different than is really the case. It may be suggested that teacher ideology about pupil control is learned from perceptions of the normative behavior of other teachers and adults which tend to distort their actual attitudes concerning desirable relations with pupils. Should conservative pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideology be found in schools, it would suggest the possibility that innovation in schools is often thwarted because of views thought to be shared but not actually shared. If true, such conclusions would be helpful in attacking the problems of educational change.

Furthermore, this approach to the study of schools with reference to innovation is novel in that it focuses not upon the nature of the innovation but upon the nature of schools as organizations. The distinction can be made more clear as follows. With few exceptions those attempting to innovate have laid primary emphases on new materials or different teaching strategies. In the process they have overlooked the importance of school organization and associated social structures that influence and constrain its adult members. What is logical to the agent of change may not be logical to the focus of change, the teacher. Innovation may inadvertantly disturb existing social structures or violate organizational rationality and be rejected because ingrained patterns of interactions are disrupted. In short, innovators have generally failed to understand schools at the social systems and organizational levels.

This study though not directly tied to innovation has been conceived in the light of the problems of instructional improvement. As such, it places primary emphasis on a social phenomenon believed to be associated with the problems preventing systematic improvement in schools. If it can be shown that pluralistic ignorance does exist in schools this may provide new insights into the problems of school organizations.

Pluralistic ignorance is not thought to result in school problems in and of itself. On the other hand it is expected that pluralistic ignorance emerges due to conditions which may also lead to many other organizational shortcomings.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF PERTINENT INVESTIGATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a more detailed rationale for the predictions which the study will investigate. Specifically each of the two basic variables, pupil control ideology and pluralistic ignorance, will be reviewed separately. Then shown is the manner in which they are related in the context of school life. The chapter concludes with a discussion of another research tradition concerning adult attitudes about pupils.

The two constructs have different social science histories. Pluralistic ignorance emerged as a concept in a ten-year period of social psychological investigation during the late 1920's and early 30's where research methodology became more rigorous and at the same time attitudes were studied in progressively more formally organized settings. (1, 32, 33, 49) To the best of our knowledge, since it first appeared in the literature about 1931(32) pluralistic ignorance has been embedded, a priori, in a theoretical framework only once. (72) Typically it has appeared as a revelation in the findings of various attitude measuring investigations whereupon it was adapted into a causal network. It is notable that the original use of the term derives from the association of Allport, Katz, and Schanck, who despite an obvious conviction in its utility rarely claimed to look for it in the behavior of people. The notion has casually reappeared in the literature since and has gradually become more diversely defined. In one case it was even renamed. (9) As one practices using the notion of pluralistic ignorance, seemingly it can be applied to a variety of situations in such a way that they are more clearly understood. For example, it is certain that the public at large perceives a severely homogeneous normative structure among college students. Yet a few minutes at a campus demonstration will verify there is much value divergence among students. However pluralistic ignorance has not served a generative function in social science research, though its potential for such a role seems great.

Pupil control ideology has a somewhat different history. Extrapolated from the work of Gilbert and Levinson about client-staff relations in mental hospitals, (67, 68) it has been used to describe adult attitudes held for employee-client relations in schools. Similar to pluralistic ignorance, the concept emerged via the efforts of a coterie of researchers working in a close professional context. (67) Unlike pluralistic ignorance, pupil control ideology has served to propagate a substantial number of studies in a relatively short period of time. As such, it signifies a current trend in educational administration where theory-based research is beginning to cut helpful inroads into practitioner craft and lore. Its use has been influenced by research preoccupations with mediocrity in public schools. Typically combined with other easily operationalized constructs in the field its real power has yet to be tapped.

Pluralistic Ignorance

The origins of this concept have almost been lost through time and changing social science values. Akin to the sociological emphasis on pluralistic behavior, the forerunners of pluralistic ignorance are seen in the works of Floyd Allport. (1) At the time his primary concern was public opinion, its origin, manifestations and effects. His term the impression of universality appears to be the initial precursor of pluralistic ignorance. Impression of universality referred to the notion that many persons attributed a prevailing attitude to the majority of others. However, Allport noted that under certain conditions this impression was merely an illusion. That is, persons tended to project certain attitudes onto the behavior of others, when in fact this belief was not based on actual encounter. Thus he defined the illusion of universality, a phenomenon which Allport especially observed at public gatherings including patriotic and political speeches. The phenomenon was only descriptive until the publication of two studies by men who had worked with Allport, Katz(32) and Schanck(49). In the first of these, Katz and Allport(32) recorded student attitudes. They noted that in some cases recruiting behaviors by fraternities were restrictive because it was thought that the majority of fraternity men did not favor the inclusion of minority groups into their membership. However, Katz and Allport noted that the majority did favor this action yet it was not practiced. They explained this by suggesting that individuals did not have an accurate estimate of majority opinion making possible an exaggerated impression of the universality of the attitude. They called the quantitative disparity between perceived and actual attitudes pluralistic ignorance.

In a subsequent study, Schanck(49) systematically mapped specific attitudes in a small community. Likewise he found quantitative differences between the feeling of universality and the actual prevalence of an attitude. He noted this seemed to occur under conditions of behavior where individuals do not or can not "check up" on the attitudes of their neighbors. Further he observed that a certain consistency of behavior is required in public places in a social setting where only one attitude is allowed. Privately a person's actions might belie his acceptance of the public attitude. The critical feature of these conditions is that the one allowable attitude is not supported by the majority of the members of the community. In this discussion Schanck cited Allport's work on pluralistic ignorance specifically referring to the latter term.

Later Katz and Schanck(33) suggested the sequence by which pluralistic ignorance occurs. First there is an impression of universality in which it is generally assumed that public opinion is well established. If this condition persists over time as individuals are interchanged and as a community grows, there evolves an illusion of universality. That is, attitudes are based on what has been established rather than upon the actual attitudes of the group. When the majority holds attitudes which no longer support the prevailing public attitude, but is unaware of the numerical discrepancy, a condition of pluralistic ignorance exists.

Katz and Schanck explained that the basis of this process are five human qualities. They are:

1. It is easier to follow what appears to be the lead (the actions of others) than to work out personal solutions.
2. Confusion is avoided if everyone conforms to the same patterns.
3. Non-conformity is punished.
4. We are conditioned by our training (especially in schools) to cooperate as a member of a group.
5. We identify with the accomplishments of the group although we, ourselves, may not have participated. (33;173-174)

In yet a later article, Schanck(50) repeated an analysis of aspects of his original study. He noted that an attitude may be derived from the actions of a few outspoken individuals. At the same time, most other people do not participate in the activities about which the attitudes are formed. Over time the original attitudes become devoid of personalities and if unchallenged by changing events, prevail. Though most people do not personally subscribe to these attitudes, they attribute them to the majority. Schanck reported that in small communities it is usual that only a minority have any active interest in a specific issue. This does not seem atypical of larger communities either.

Merton(39) noted the incidence of pluralistic ignorance in role behavior in organizations. He described situations in which the demands of some members of a role set are in ignorant contradiction to the demands of others in the role set. Though he referred to the works of Allport and Schanck, Merton expanded the definition of pluralistic ignorance. He pointed out that there are two varieties. The first is when one feels that his attitudes are unshared, but in fact they are; the second is when one feels that his attitudes are shared but in fact they are not. Merton also indicated that these conditions are likely to prevail when observations are limited because actions are insulated. Each of these conditions may be corrected when there is conflict. If in the process pluralistic ignorance is discovered, it ceases to exist.

Biddle and others(7, 8, 9) found evidence of pluralistic ignorance in schools. They reported that for certain teacher behavior frameworks such as "discipline," "watching for cheaters," and "supervision," different reference groups attributed much more conservative norms to other groups than they actually held. For example, members of the public were pictured by teachers, parents and school officials as desiring stronger discipline and supervision of pupils than they actually reported. Biddle suggested that teachers are especially likely to generate conservative norms due to the vulnerability of schools to reactionary pressures and the lack of a strong professional teacher organization. He also noted that school officials who attribute conservative values to the public tend to behave in public so as to fulfill conservative requirements. Not knowing that their liberal values match those of the public, school officials tend to give the impression that they are conservative. Thus they perpetuate the pluralistic ignorance which surrounds them. In private their behavior is liable to match their personal feelings.

In a later discussion of pluralistic ignorance (which he renamed shared inaccuracies) Biddle(7) contrasted his study to Schanck's. He commented that Schanck had described conditions in which members of the same group were ignorant of the majority opinion. In his own study, Biddle noted shared inaccuracies about the norms of the members of one group by the members of another. In only one instance, an area of low visibility, teachers threatening pupils in the classroom, did he find intragroup misperception. He suggested that these are stable patterns of inaccuracy and are perpetuated by deception and the hiding of one's true norms.

Wheeler(61) found instances of inaccuracies in norm perception between inmates and prison officials which tended to distort normative differences. Miles(41) found intragroup pluralistic ignorance among teachers regarding instructional innovations. He noted that it was always conservative in that individual teachers claimed that they were willing to change but that the majority of their colleagues were not.

Wisniewski and Miles(72) have reported pluralistic ignorance among American Educational Research Association members. Finally the likelihood of custodial pluralistic ignorance among school personnel has received prior speculation.(67, 68)

There are studies which focus on the notion of social perception at the level of the individual. While many support the phenomenon of misperception, they are not included here in that this study is directed to the level of behavior which is typical of groups, aggregates, or incumbants of similar positions. We are less concerned with individual differences and more especially interested in shared, systematic variations in perceptions.

The works from which this research derives, show two separable sets of forces associated with pluralistic ignorance. The first is that some attitudes and ideologies are projected onto the behaviors of others within a social context. The second is that the expression of certain attitudes and ideologies are prohibited within the same setting. Related factors involve the times at which a vocal minority draws attention to an issue. Under conditions of general apathy, the attitudes of the few are projected as the attitudes of the majority. When interpersonal interaction is primarily limited to locations of high visibility, behavior and perception of behavior are usually seen as supportive of what is believed to be the prevailing attitude. In the absence of a check on the actual prevalence of the attitude, there may arise a situation in which persons assume public support for an attitude which is unknowingly not supported by the majority. The research cited above has shown that a majority of personal attitudes may differ from the perception of public attitude and that persons are ignorant of this fact.

Some authors have suggested ways in which pluralistic ignorance may be remedied. Merton(39) has said that conflict which forces personal attitudes out in the open for public inspection destroys the illusion of universality. Miles(41) suggested that in the absence of conflict, public admission of privately held ideologies would serve the same purpose. Schanck(50) theorized that the revelation of the real majority attitude would also eliminate pluralistic ignorance. He also has cited evidence to show that a new vocal minority can effectively change the perception of public opinion.

The credence of these suggested solutions is doubtful especially in the light of Miles' reported attempts to correct the perception of teacher attitudes regarding educational innovation. After teachers had discovered that their personal willingness to change instructional practices was the majority attitude, actual innovation did not ensue. It is not clear from Miles' work whether a majority of teachers suffered a change of heart and still did not feel obliged to adopt new practices, or if there were other mechanisms acting which prevented a shift in the impression of public (teacher) opinion. For our purposes, we suggest that custodial pupil control norms help to stifle educational modifications and muffle the effects of innovation. If custodial pupil norms are illusory, perhaps there are other crucial issues about which actual preferences are hidden.

Pupil Control Ideology

The works in which pupil control ideology first appeared resulted from a case study of a junior high school. (69) The major conclusions emerging from that study maintained that pupil control was a central issue in school life and that there were clear and pervasive norms concerning adult relations with clients. Moreover, these norms were viewed as custodial in that students were generally degraded and teachers elevated in their daily interpretation.

However, it was noted that actual behavior varied about the norm in interesting ways. New teachers attempted to convince more experienced teachers that they supported this norm. Teachers who were seen as weak on discipline were marginal members of the teacher subculture. The principal was accused of not supporting teachers in discipline cases, and the counselor was concerned that his solutions to pupil personnel problems, if discovered, would be unpopular. All of this pointed to the notion that there are different ideologies about pupil control regardless of the norm. It was also felt that in terms of the social system theory there may be systematic differences in pupil control ideology associated with different organizational roles. (67)

The notion of pupil control ideology seems especially enlightened when one considers other corroborating theoretical frameworks. For example, Carlson(14) showed that organizations could be classified on the basis of client related selection characteristics and from this pointed to similarities between schools, public mental hospitals, and prisons. Waller's work(54) serves to highlight these similarities as do works of Becker(5) and Goffman.(20, 21)

Pupil control ideology has been operationalized through the twenty item Form PCI.(67) Pupil control ideology is conceived as a continuum wherein personal attitudes reflect both humanistic and custodial elements. The continuum is bounded by ideal type descriptions, one of which includes the defining attributes of humanistic attitudes for pupils, the other the defining attributes of custodial attitudes.[1]

Supported by a carefully developed theoretical framework, researchers have been able to generate and test a number of hypotheses concerning the attitudes adults in schools hold for pupils.

Willower, Eidell, and Hoy(67, 68) tested hypotheses which showed systematic differences in pupil control ideologies among teachers, counselors, and principals associated with different roles and school levels. They reported that secondary teachers are most custodial. They are followed in order by secondary principals, elementary teachers, counselors and elementary principals who were the most humanistic. The rationale for these tests depended on two factors. First pupil control problems at the secondary level tend to be more threatening to both the personnel and the organization than at the elementary level. The second factor has to do with the proximity to battle. Those closest to the pupils, teachers, espouse more custodial ideologies than those removed from the action, principals and counselors. They also suggested that all personnel are required to put up a "united front" in this battle and thus may indicate a more custodial orientation to organizational members than they actually hold in private.

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[1] See Appendix B.

They(67) also reported closed-minded principals and teachers had more custodial control ideologies than did open-minded incumbents of these positions. When they broke these two position categories into secondary and elementary levels, the same relationship held in all four cases. Holding dogmatism constant, the pupil control ideologies of secondary principals and teachers were also more custodial than those of their elementary counterparts. Personality factors (in this case dogmatism) as well as level and position contribute to systematic differences among reported pupil control ideologies.

In a more recent study, Gossen(22) ranked elementary schools by socio-economic status and divided them into three groups, high, medium and low SES. He found that the pupil control ideologies of teachers differed between low and medium and low and high SES schools. Teachers in low SES schools were more custodial than teachers in each of the other groups. Interestingly though the number of principals in his sample was small, there appears an interaction such that the effects of different SES levels on teacher's PCI is different than it is for principals.

T. E. Jones(31) extended the PCI studies to the bureaucratic characteristics of schools as suggested by the works of Weber and Gouldner. He found that teachers in schools which were high on an authoritative measure were more custodial than teachers in schools with a relatively less authoritative orientation. The same feature was indicated for teachers in schools which were characterized by a punishment centered bureaucracy as opposed to a representative style.

Appleberry and Hoy(2) found that teachers in schools characterized by Halpin's open climate model were more humanistic than teachers in closed climate schools. They also found that schools characterized by open climates were more humanistic than those which were relatively closed. Principals tended to show these same differences although they were not significant.

P. L. Jones(30) found that BSCS biology teachers who were more humanistic tended to follow their commercial instructions more closely than those custodial biology teachers. Rexford(46) found other indications that the classroom behavior of teachers was related to pupil control ideologies.

For the purpose of this study, all the investigations concerning pupil control ideology have a major implication. That is, there appears a consistant difference in the pupil control ideologies of persons in different organizational positions in schools. More specifically in every case teachers were shown to be more custodial than principals when other variables such as location, psychological characteristics, and internal and external environments were controlled. These findings give reason to believe that pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideologies is quite likely. Furthermore, from the viewpoint of social system research, we should expect pluralistic ignorance in the direction indicated by the central hypotheses.

The MTAI Studies

In a recent publication, (42) Hoy's teacher socialization studies which used the form PCI were criticized on two bases. The first was that the PCI instrument measures the same variables as another well known instrument, the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory. The second, which was erroneous, was that the PCI shares common items with MTAI. Therefore, it seems reasonable to discuss MTAI to shed some light on the criticisims. Originally developed by Leeds(38) for his doctor's thesis, MTAI was designed to predict teaching success. He developed MTAI empirically and through the process he selected from 756 original items, those which differentiated between teachers who have rapport with pupils and those who do not. Form A(16) consisting of 150 items was eventually developed. Leeds proceeded on the assumption that good teacher-pupil rapport was related to proficient teaching behavior and that he could measure rapport by measuring the attitudes of teachers towards pupils. Subsequent studies have challenged these assumptions. Leeds generated items from five sources: the moral status of children, discipline and problems of conduct, principles of child development, principles of education and the personal reactions of the teacher. He concluded that his test measured the "teaching personality."

As we have already described in this chapter, the Pupil Control Ideology instrument has entirely different origins. It was generated from an *a priori* theoretical framework resulting from a field study and implies no assumptions about teaching effectiveness. Embedded in this framework and subsequently expressed in the PCI items is the assumption that teacher attitudes about pupils are elicited by the particular social system features of schools. Furthermore, the theoretical underpinnings of the PCI lead to hypotheses about the predictive validity of the MTAI which we will show have been supported by research dealing with MTAI. It seems clear that we have a case of independent invention of similar instruments by separate research teams who though working in education had and continue to have different perspectives and non-overlapping theoretical foundations. While there is general similarity between PCI and MTAI an examination of the instruments shows that the items are in fact different and the criticisms mentioned above are invalid.

The issue of item similarity is an interesting one. Seemingly the five sources used by Leeds for item generation are conceptually but not functionally independent. At a higher level of abstraction, it is possible to view them as subsets of the notion of pupil control ideology. For example, it is difficult to make a clear distinction between Leeds' categories, moral status of children, discipline and problems of conduct. For many teachers there is no difference. Similarly the category, principles of education, is for many teacher-training programs little more than skills in classroom management, which is the equivalent of teacher control of pupil activity. Likewise the category, principles of child development, can be interpreted in two ways. Recently we have seen the growth of individualized instruction programs which interpret the principles of child development to mean that all children differ significantly. However, it is quite clear that typical school organization features strongly indicate that schoolmen interpret these principles to mean that nearly all children of the same age can be treated equally. If one assumes that instructional practices are based on the assumption of equal rate child development, then, in practice, the principles of education and child development are inseparable and are, in practice, tightly bound up with teacher beliefs about discipline and the moral status of children. PCI does not discriminate among these five sources for the reason that they are at least functionally intertwined if not conceptually.

Summary

In this chapter highlights of the social science histories of the constructs, pupil control ideology and pluralistic ignorance, have been given. Specific investigations which describe and explain pluralistic ignorance were cited. The salence of pupil control as an organizational property of schools has been illustrated in accounts of numerous studies. The systematic variations of pupil control ideology with regard to school roles has also been discussed. The pupil-related attitude research tradition of the MTAI, an instrument thought by some to be similar to the Form PCI used here, was noted. Many MTAI studies indicate similarities among MTAI and the PCI findings. Consequently we have suggested that pluralistic ignorance may exist within the role of teacher and across the roles, teacher, counselor and principal with regard to pupil control ideology.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

Introduction

This chapter reviews the methodological procedures employed in the investigation. Alternative processes are implied throughout and will be discussed in some instances. Specifically described are the operationalized hypotheses, the statistical decision making procedures, methods of estimating instrument reliability and validity, and the nature of the sample selected for the study and of the portion of the sample used.

Statistical Hypotheses

As was noted, pluralistic ignorance refers to cases in which many members of a defineable group are inaccurate about the state of mind of another party, though the group members in question believe their perceptions to be accurate. As was also mentioned, the inaccurate perception is associated with peculiar structures of social organization so that there is an agreement among the holders of the faulty perception. In other words the inaccuracy is shared. This is a crucial point. For if the perception were not shared, the distribution of individual perceptions would vary with personality dispositions. If on the other hand the perception is shared, as we have predicted, then the variability of nominal perceptions should be reduced. The arrangement of perceptions should center about some well defined locus. The phenomenon of sharing is not thought to be associated with personality characteristics but with properties of social organization. Thus the perception is influenced by the nature of one's position in the structures of human interaction. In some instances persons occupying similar positions are expected to hold common perceptions about the attitudes, values, prejudices, and ideologies of members of various related groups. As such the phenomenon under study is a sociological property emerging from the interaction of actors in specially organized social conditions. It seems reasonable that shared perceptions can be represented by a sample mean score and pluralistic ignorance by mean differences.

The Pupil Control Ideology instrument (Form PCI) was mailed to members of three such groups, teachers, counselors and principals.[1] The instrument consists of four forms. Each contains the same twenty statements. Form I asks persons to respond to each item as their own tendency dictates. Items are followed by a five choice Likert type scale within which respondents can record the extent to which they agree with the assertion made. Responses marked strongly agree are given a value of five. Those marked strongly disagree are scored one. The form contains no subscales and a summated score is obtained by adding the twenty Likert values. The other forms ask respondents to score the items as they thought the typical teacher, form II, the typical principal, form III, and the typical guidance counselor, form IV, would score them. The item scores for each of these forms are likewise summed. For each group, teachers, principals and counselors, means were calculated for every form. That is $\overline{x}_{T_I}$ represents the mean of self scores for teachers, teachers form I. In like fashion $\overline{x}_{P_I}$ represents the mean of self scores for principals and $\overline{x}_{C_I}$, the mean of self scores for counselors. Thus $\overline{x}_{T_{II}}$ represents the mean of scores attributed to the typical teacher by teachers; $\overline{x}_{P_{II}}$ by principals and $\overline{x}_{C_{II}}$ by counselors.

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[1] See Appendix A

The seven hypotheses which were stated in Chapter I can now be translated using the following symbols. Where U = the population mean 0 = all mean differences which can be attributed to chance.

1. Teachers will perceive the pupil control ideology of teachers to be more custodial than teachers, themselves, report. That is the mean of teacher form II scores will be greater than the mean of teacher form I scores.

Since the mean of each set of scores per form is an estimate of a population mean, the null hypothesis becomes $U_{T_{II}} - U_{T_I} = 0$. These specific means are correlated.

The theoretical hypothesis is:

$$U_{T_{II}} - U_{T_I} > 0.$$

It is predicted that we can reject the null hypothesis in favor of this alternate hypothesis.

2. Teachers will perceive the pupil control ideology of principals to be more custodial than principals, themselves, report.

$$Ho_2: U_{T_{III}} - U_{P_I} = 0.$$

$$Ha_2: U_{T_{III}} - U_{P_I} > 0.$$

Predict: Reject the null hypothesis in favor of the theoretical alternative.

3. Teachers will perceive the pupil control ideology of counselors to be more custodial than counselors, themselves, report.

$$Ho_3: U_{T_{IV}} - U_{C_I} = 0.$$

$$Ha_3: U_{T_{IV}} - U_{C_I} > 0.$$

Predict: Reject the null hypothesis in favor of the theoretical alternative.

4. Principals will perceive the pupil control ideology of teachers to be more custodial than teachers, themselves, report.

$$Ho_4: U_{P_{II}} - U_{T_I} = 0.$$

$$Ha_4: U_{P_{II}} - U_{T_I} > 0.$$

Predict: Reject the null hypothesis in favor of this alternative.

5. Counselors will perceive the pupil control ideology of teachers to be more custodial than teachers, themselves, report.

$$Ho_5: U_{C_{II}} - U_{T_I} = 0.$$

$$Ha_5: U_{C_{II}} - U_{T_I} > 0.$$

Predict: Reject the null hypothesis in favor of this alternative.

6. Principals will not be significantly inaccurate about the reported pupil control ideology of counselors.

$$Ho_6: U_{P_{IV}} - U_{C_I} = 0.$$

$$Ha_6: U_{P_{IV}} - U_{C_I} \neq 0.$$

Predict: Accept the null hypothesis.

7. Counselors will not be significantly inaccurate about the reported pupil control ideology of principals.

$$Ho_7: U_{C_{III}} - U_{P_I} = 0.$$

$$Ha_7: U_{C_{III}} - U_{P_I} \neq 0.$$

Predict: Accept the null hypothesis.

The table below is an illustration of the number of kinds of PCI form mean scores obtained. To the left of the figure are listed the names of the respondent types. At the top of the figure the names of those to whom the responses are attributed are given with the form number. Within each cell we have placed the appropriate symbol for each sample mean.

TABLE 1 An Illustration of form PCI Mean Scores Obtained for Analysis

Response attributed to:		self form I	typical teacher form II	typical principal form III	typical counselor form IV
Respondent type	teacher	$\bar{x}_{T_I}$	$\bar{x}_{T_{II}}$	$\bar{x}_{T_{III}}$	$\bar{x}_{T_{IV}}$
	principal	$\bar{x}_{P_I}$	$\bar{x}_{P_{II}}$	$\bar{x}_{P_{III}}$	$\bar{x}_{P_{IV}}$
	counselor	$\bar{x}_{C_I}$	$\bar{x}_{C_{II}}$	$\bar{x}_{C_{III}}$	$x_{C_{IV}}$

The predictions listed above involve ten of the twelve available mean scores. Only $\bar{x}_{P_{III}}$ and $\bar{x}_{C_{IV}}$ have been excluded from immediate consideration. We shall make reference to these in a later chapter. There are $C^{12}_{2} = 66$ possible combinations of mean pairs of which we have specified only seven.

Statistical Procedures

In order to decide whether to accept or reject each of the seven null hypotheses two statistical procedures were employed. The first hypothesis specifies the difference between correlated means. A *t* test for differences between correlated means was employed. This test has the form (19):

$$t_c = \frac{\left(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2\right) = 0}{\sqrt{\frac{s_1^2 + s_1^2 - 2\ \mathrm{cov}}{n}}} \qquad df = N - 1$$

Each of the other six hypotheses represents a prediction about two estimates of a single population mean. The Behrens-Fisher *t'* test with the Welch solution for degrees of freedom was employed in each of remaining cases. (59) This latter strategy was used for the following reasons. It has been shown that when the assumption of homogeneous variances is not met the probability of committing a Type I error is liberally increased when using t tests based upon this condition. (37) Even if the heterogeneous variances are weighted p(EI) is still greater than α. The use of the Welch solution provides a most conservative estimate of mean difference probability. (36, 37, 59) Since in no case in this study are the sample sizes associated with specified pairs of means equal nor are the variances identical, the use of this statistical procedure was deemed most desirable. This procedure has the following form. (59)

$$t' = \frac{(x_1 - x_2) = 0}{\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}} \qquad \text{where df} = \frac{(n_1 - 1) \quad (n_2 - 1)}{(n_1 - 1)(1 - C)^2 + (n_2 - 1)\, C^2}$$

$$\text{and where } C = \frac{\frac{s_1^2}{n_1^2}}{\frac{s_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{s_2^2}{n_2}}$$

Despite the form of Ha, all hypotheses were tested using a two tailed decision rule.

Design

Since it has been shown in previous studies of pupil control ideology that PCI scores vary with school level, the selection of the sample of potential respondents was controlled on this dimension. It was not clear if these differences would effect the perception of others' pupil control ideology. That is, because elementary personnel have been shown to be less custodial than secondary personnel, PCI scores attributed by elementary employees may be less custodial than those attributed by their secondary counterparts. When elementary teachers attribute PCI scores elementary employees may serve as the focus of attribution. The degree of relative attributed PCI inflation may be less for elementary persons than for secondary persons. Conversely it may not. Thus it became necessary to find if pluralistic ignorance might be present among secondary but not among elementary personnel.

Similarly the number of persons in a social system may tend to effect the accuracy of one's perception of participant ideology. It is possible that when one person is asked to think of a typical member of a certain group, he is liable to think in specific terms of a person or persons he knows. His attributions will probably reflect his estimation of the ideology of a specific personality or set of personalities. The chances of knowing accurately could be enhanced by a reduction in the number of persons of a special type with whom one may be familiar. Perhaps persons who work in small school buildings enjoy an opportunity for increased familiarity with school faculty that is less available to persons in large buildings. A second important question concerning pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideology centered about the variable of building size. In other words would the number of persons in a school building influence the accuracy of perception.

While it was not expected that these two variables, school level and school size, would significantly alter the degree or direction of the perception of ideology, it seemed reasonable to examine the possibility. Accordingly each hypothesis was tested under nine varying conditions. First under the condition of position, size and level, then each was tested by position and size, then by position and level and finally by position alone. For example consider the first null hypothesis, $U_{T_{II}} - U_{T_I} = 0$. Following the pattern outlined above the hypothesis was tested under nine related conditions. The Table below contains a summary of this design.

The advantage of such a scheme is that it provides direct tests of the hypotheses under conditions which may effect accuracy of perception. If we were to test only the ninth hypothesis and neglect the others, we might reject the null hypothesis not knowing that under certain conditions it could not be rejected. By testing the hypotheses in the order suggested above we should be able to develop a reasonable composite of the nature of pluralistic ignorance as it exists among roles. A disadvantage of this approach is that the probability of rejection is increased. (19, 25)

However each of the nine forms of the first hypothesis is one of a set of corresponding forms of hypotheses two through seven. Each set of seven pairs of means specified represents 7/66 of the possible pair

TABLE 2 An Illustration Showing the Conditions in Which Each Hypothesis was Tested

Condition Type	Condition	N^a
Position, size and level	1. Small elementary buildings	30
	2. Large elementary buildings	30
	3. Small secondary buildings	30
	4. Large secondary buildings	30
Position and level	5. Elementary buildings	60
	6. Secondary buildings	60
Position and size	7. Small buildings	60
	8. Large buildings	60
Position	9. All teachers	120

N^a = the hypothetical sample size in each condition.

combinations, C_2^{12}. We have predicted that we can identify, a priori, 5/66 pairs in which Ho will be rejected and 2/66 in which it will be retained. If by chance 10 percent of the possible mean pair combinations, were to differ significantly, it would mean that in approximately seven cases Ho would be rejected. Furthermore, if 10 percent of the possible pairs did differ significantly, then by chance we should expect that the differences would be distributed so that half would be negative. In this design we do not test all pairwise combinations and of the seven pairs specified we have predicted the direction of differences in five. The chances of accomplishing such a feat seems slight enough to warrant the use of multiple comparison with t tests. Furthermore should the pattern of mean differences depart from the expected pattern, we have already presented discussion which might account for the discrepancy.

It is typical in cases where multiple comparisons are made to control p(EI) by submitting all means to simultaneous comparison using but one decision rule. The technique often used is analysis of variance. Post hoc procedures are then safely employed to compare combinations of means within the confines of α should Ho be rejected. Similarly in multiple factor analysis of variance designs, tests for interactions can be made.

We considered the use of these procedures in the light of this convention. However they were rejected on the following grounds. We have a detailed theoretical formulation which permits us to predict with confidence the probable state of affairs. In other words we were not looking for any differences which happen to be significant but for specific differences which were expected to follow a definite pattern. Since we had sampling as well as theoretical controls to guide our conclusions, we felt the trade off was reasonable.

Estimates of Reliability and Validity

In the development of Form PCI, determinations of reliability and validity appeared to be satisfactory.(67) In the reports of the original studies the Pearson product moment coefficient calculated from summated odd item-even item scores was .91 (N=170). Applying the Spearman Brown formula the corrected coefficient was .95. In a second case (N=55) the same procedure yielded a corrected coefficient of .91.

In spite of these statistics it was decided that new reliability estimates were required for the instrument as it was employed in this investigation. Previously acquired PCI scores were those of the respondent's own ideology. That is the equivalent of form I used here. In this case there are four identical forms of the instrument and three of them, II, III and IV, ask the respondent to score them in a manner unlike that of earlier studies. Consequently, it was necessary to gather new reliability estimates for each of the four forms. Since the original estimates were quite good and gave indication of stability no pilot study was carried out. Instead odd-even split half sums were calculated for each form of every instrument returned. Pearson product moment coefficients translated by the Guttman formula for correction(24) were ascertained for each form. Corrected coefficients per form are as follows, form I, .8470; form II, .8590; form III, .9092; form IV, .9045 (N = 318 for each form).

In earlier validation procedures school principals were given Type H and Type C ideal type descriptions.(67) Principals were then asked to select those teachers most like one of the two ideology sketches. On three separate occasions using different teachers and principals it was found that the mean PCI scores of teachers rated custodial were greater than those rated humanistic. In two of these cases a t test for the difference between independent samples means was applied and each time Ho was rejected.

In this study a random selection of 96 subjects within the sample were sent Form V (see Appendix C) along with the ideology instrument. Form V consists of Type C and Type H ideal type descriptions identical to those used in the earlier studies. However, this time it also included items asking respondents to rate each typical position holder as being most like one of the two orientation descriptions. Each rating had a concurrent and corresponding PCI form score associated with it. Three procedures were utilized to estimate instrument validity.

A biserial correlation coefficient was calculated between the continuous but dichotomized ideal type variable and the continuous PCI form score.(23) $R_{bsi} = .74$, N = 108. N refers to the number of PCI form scores used in the calculation. Of the 96 Form V instruments mailed only 36 were returned each with three ideal type selections, one for each position. The Welch solution for degrees of freedom was applied to the Behrens-Fisher $\underline{t}'$ test for the differences between the means of independent samples (Type H scores versus Type C scores). Ho was rejected at the .0001 level. Finally the number of custodial scores attributed to each typical position member was tabulated. Thirty-six ideal type attributions were made for each position. Twenty-five custodial ratings were attributed to teachers, 20 were attributed to principals and none to counselors. These results follow the pattern of PCI score distribution in previous studies. It seems reasonable to conclude that the concurrent validity estimates for Form PCI as it was used here support the notion that educators do attribute PCI scores in a manner consistent with its use in the study.

Sample Selection

All public school buildings in the state of Pennsylvania were initially classified according to educational level and student population size. This information is reported in a Pennsylvania Department of Education publication for 1969-70, "Educational Directory." Elementary and secondary buildings were listed separately by name and student enrollment. All school buildings with more than 1000 pupils were rated as large buildings and those with fewer than 1000 pupils, small. The size of a building's pupil population was considered to be a rough index of the number of professional employees working there. Schools with less than 1000 pupils likely have a teaching staff of

30 or fewer. Schools with more than a thousand pupils are likely to have a larger teaching staff. The figure, 30 teachers, was chosen for two reasons. Teachers are the largest group of employees in any school building and thus the location of the greatest social system mass. Some students of organization employ this figure as a crude cut off point to rank organizations by size. (12, 13)

Once the level size determination was made, we had established four building categories, large and small elementary schools, large and small secondary schools. All buildings in the four categories were assigned numbers consecutively from 1 to x as they appeared in order in the "Directory". Using a table of random numbers, forty buildings in each category were selected for each position. For example, we identified 40 small elementary schools for teachers, 40 small elementary schools for counselors and 40 small elementary schools for principals, or 160 buildings per position and 480 buildings in all. Selection was done without replacement within positions and with replacement across positions. That is no two teachers, for example, could be drawn from the same building, but a counselor or a principal could be selected from a building already chosen in the teacher draw.

For principals the selection of a building meant the simultaneous selection of the principal. For teachers and counselors however it was necessary to obtain a list of all employees in every selected building from the Bureau of Educational Statistics, PDE. Teachers and counselors were randomly selected from these lists.

Since there were fewer than 100 large elementary schools in Pennsylvania at the time of this study, building duplication across positions was highest in this category. Similarly there were almost 3000 small elementary schools and only a single building duplication resulted. The number of small secondary schools was only about 150 more than large secondary schools. Elementary principals and counselors assigned to more than one school were classified on the basis of the building selected. Middle schools were classified as secondary schools. A data sheet attached to the questionnaire was designed in part to verify our classification decisions. Respondents who reported a different position, size or level than they were originally assigned were reclassified before data analysis. Eight persons from each of the twelve position, level, size cells were mailed Form V along with the questionnaire. These persons were randomly selected from the forty persons assigned to each cell. Thrity-two validation forms were sent to the individual members of each position category; 96 such forms were mailed.

Instrument Design

The Pupil Control Ideology Instrument used in this study consisted of four identical forms. Form I asks respondents to report their own reactions to each of the twenty statements contained therein. Form II asks respondents to estimate, attribute, the reaction of the typical teacher to the same twenty items. Form III asks them to estimate the reactions of the typical principal; form IV the typical guidance counselor. When mailed the questionnaire was accompanied by a letter explaining the purpose of the study,[2] an instruction page and a data sheet. Form I was duplicated on blue paper, form II on yellow, form III on pink and form IV, green. This color coding was expected to help respondents differentiate among forms and improve their retention and application of form instructions. A copy of the complete instrument can be found in Appendix A.

The questionnaires were constructed so that form I was always the first in order. This was done for the reason that this arrangement utilized form I in much the same manner as Form PCI had been used before. Also it was felt that by completing form I first respondents would become familiar with items and could consider the responses they would later attribute to other position members. Not only would this serve to reduce the completion time and encourage a complete response, but might also serve the purpose of preparing a mental model of the position occupants to be used in each of the last three forms.

The other three forms were ordered in six different ways to control for position effects. For example in the first order the arrangement of the four forms followed a sequential pattern 1, 2, 3, 4. The second order was 1243, the third, 1324 and so on. Subjects were assigned one of the six form orders in the sequence of the original position size level selection. That is the first small secondary teacher was assigned order number one, 1234, as was the seventh, the thirteenth, the nineteenth, the twenty fifth and the thirty first. The sixth small secondary teacher was assigned order number six, 1432, as were numbers 12, 18, 24, 30 and 36. The last four subjects in each group of 40 teachers were randomly assigned to one of the 6 orders. The identical pattern was employed for each of the eleven remaining categories.

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[2] See Appendix B.

Response

The 480 questionnaires were mailed during the third week of October 1970. They were placed in envelopes with the University's return post office, addressed, and sent to the schools of the selected subjects. Each packet also contained a stamped, addressed return envelope. The questionnaires were mailed at bulk rates and returned third class. Envelopes were clearly marked with these mailing instructions. This procedure dramatically reduced the cost of mailing, but may have influenced the subjects' tendency to attend to them. By the end of the first week in December, 1970, 256 usable questionnaires had been returned. Consequently another 220 questionnaires were mailed during the third week in December. Toward the middle of January 1971, returns from the second mailing had stopped.

We had hoped for a return of about 360 questionnaires for an N of 30 in each of the twelve cells. An extra 120 were mailed to increase the probability of reaching this goal. Only 318 usable returns were received, representing a return ratio of 65 percent. However in most categories we were able to achieve an adequate sample size. The actual return ratio was somewhat higher owing to the fact that 30 additional questionnaires came back with no or insufficient data. Only those questionnaires in which all four forms were scorable were used in the study. In the Table below the reader can quickly see the pattern of final returns. Large elementary and large secondary teachers as well as large elementary principals proved to be the most reluctant. In general counselors and principals were more responsive than were teachers. Subjects in small schools were more cooperative than subjects in large schools.

Because of the systematic method used to assign questionnaire orders to subjects, persons receiving a second mailing were assigned the same form order as in the first mailing. All subjects assigned Form V in the first mailing also received one in the second mailing. However because of poor Form V, response, 100 of these forms were included in the second mailing although only 71 were actually required. The extra validation forms were randomly assigned to subjects in categories where the validation response was poorest. The pattern of Form V returns closely approximates the pattern of questionnaire returns though at a much lower level.

Summary

To review the procedures employed in the study, the following are the most fundamental. Sample selections was done so as to

TABLE 3 The Distribution of Final Questionnaire Returns

	elementary			secondary			
	teachers N	principals N	counselors N	teachers N	principals N	counselors N	T
large buildings	16	19	28	18	31	26	138
small buildings	29	32	39	24	30	26	180

total elementary 163

total secondary 155

Total returns: all, 318; teachers, 87; principals, 112; counselors, 119.
Percent return: all, 65; teachers, 54; principals, 70; counselors, 74.

control for the effects of school size and level such that not only were an equal number of position incumbants drawn but an equal number from equivalent social system definitions were chosen also. While the pattern of questionnaire returns did not maintain this consistancy, the size of the return is large enough to be expected to give stable estimates of the critical population parameters. Each hypothesis was tested under nine systematically varied conditions by the use of various t tests. A compromise made between direct comparison and inflated rejection probability choices favored the use of multiple t tests. The instrument held up adequately under tests for internal consistancy and concurrent validity.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introduction

In this chapter, we describe the relationships among the various form scores in terms of pluralistic ignorance. The chapter is organized around logical divisions afforded by the seven original theoretical hypotheses. First presented is the repeated measures analysis involving teachers. Analysis of each of the three pairs of companion hypotheses will follow. The report of each hypothesis testing will highlight variations in relations between self and attributed scores under the nine conditions of analysis.[1] In many instances, the pattern of mean differences and associated probabilities remained so constant that they can be described in a few sentences. In other cases, much of the statistical output shows interesting and perhaps significant variations. In order to help the reader locate areas of greatest post analysis theoretical activity, it will be useful to know that the ideology of counselors appears to be approximated in the estimates of teachers and principals. Both of these findings depart from our predictions, while four others were sustained. Another point which may prove to be a helpful advanced organizer is that incumbents of the three positions share quite similar mean ideologies but appear to be unaware of this.

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[1] See Chapter III, page 41.

Pluralistic Ignorance Among Teachers

In each of the four level-size categories, the mean of teacher's self-scores, form I, was at least fourteen points less than the mean of the PCI scores attributed to the typical teacher by teachers, form II. This difference tended to be greater for teachers in large elementary and large secondary buildings than for teachers in the small, counterpart categories. However, the _t_ values associated with the above differences ranged from 5.7 to 8.0, and the probabilities for all were significant beyond four places. As these categories were collapsed into the larger categories of size and then level the mean differences remained large ranging from seventeen to twenty-one. Probabilities also remained significant. Finally, when all 87 teacher forms I and II were compared, the pattern described above persisted. This can be seen in Table 4.

By our definition, the results of this aspect of the analysis support the notion that teachers exaggerate the pupil control ideology of teachers. Given the direction and degree of difference found, it seems appropriate to conclude that teachers regard their position colleagues as having a much more custodial orientation than this group of teacher colleagues reports.

Pluralistic Ignorance Between Teachers and Principals

In each of the four position, size, level categories, teachers consistently attributed much larger PCI scores to principals than principals reported. The difference between the means of the teacher

TABLE 4 Means, t Values and Associated Probabilities for the Difference Between the Means of Teacher form I Scores and Teacher form II Scores.

Condition	Mean Attributions For Teachers T form II	Mean Teacher Self Scores T form I	$X_{T_{II}} - X_{T_I}$	df	t	p[a]
Large Elementary	70.9	50.7	20.2	14	5.698	.0001
Small Elementary	70.4	51.7	18.8	27	7.888	.0001
Large Secondary	75.4	54.4	21.1	16	7.015	.0001
Small Secondary	69.1	55.0	14.1	22	6.949	.0001
Elementary	70.6	51.3	19.3	43	9.817	.0001
Secondary	71.8	54.7	17.1	40	9.530	.0001
Large	73.3	52.6	20.7	32	9.099	.0001
Small	69.8	53.2	16.7	51	10.337	.0001
All	71.2	53.0	18.2	85	13.681	.0001

[a] for two-tailed tests.

form III scores and the principal form I scores ranged from 9 to 20. The probability calculations obtained were with one exception significant beyond .0001 and were associated with t values which ranged from 3.5 to 7.3. As shown in Table 5 probabilities remained beyond four places throughout the larger level and size combinations and likewise did not change when all 87 teachers were compared with the sample of 112 principals.

TABLE 5 Means, t Values, and Associated Probabilities for the Differences Between the Means of Teacher form III Scores and Principal form I Scores

Condition	Mean Teacher Attributions for Principals T form III	Mean Principal Self Scores P form I	$X_{T_{III}} - X_{T_I}$	df	t	$p^a <$
Large Elementary	65.0	45.3	19.7	26	7.142	.0001
Small Elementary	65.3	47.6	17.7	56	7.269	.0001
Large Secondary	67.7	48.4	19.3	25	6.152	.0001
Small Secondary	63.4	53.8	9.5	45	3.498	.0011[b]
Elementary	65.2	46.7	18.5	86	10.073	.0001
Secondary	65.2	51.1	14.1	73	6.840	.0001
Large	66.4	47.2	19.2	53	9.105	.0001
Small	64.4	50.6	13.9	107	7.473	.0001
All	65.2	49.1	16.1	166	11.626	.0001

[a] for two-tailed tests.

[b] $p = .0011$

Without that exception, this same pattern held for the relationship between principal attributions about teachers and teachers' self scores. Table 6 is a summary of this analysis.

Regarding the dimensions of this investigation and the character of our statistical data, it appears that teachers do not know the pupil control ideology of principals and principals do not know the pupil

TABLE 6 Means, t Values and Associated Probabilities for the Difference Between the Means of Principal form II Scores and Teacher form I Scores

Condition	Mean Principal Attributions for Teachers P form II	Mean Teacher Self Scores T form I	$\bar{X}_{P_{II}} - \bar{X}_{T_{I}}$	df	t	$p^a <$
Large Elementary	67.1	50.7	16.4	31	4.643	.0001
Small Elementary	68.4	51.7	16.8	51	7.207	.0001
Large Secondary	72.4	54.4	18.0	33	5.913	.0001
Small Secondary	71.2	55.0	16.2	52	6.988	.0001
Elementary	67.9	51.3	16.6	84	8.554	.0001
Secondary	71.8	54.7	17.1	93	9.335	.0001
Large	70.4	52.6	17.8	77	7.832	.0001
Small	69.7	53.2	16.6	107	10.055	.0001
All	70.0	53.0	17.1	197	12.818	.0001

[a] for two-tailed tests.

control ideology of teachers. Each attributes to the other a much greater custodial orientation than members of the other group indicate.

Pluralistic Ignorance Between Teachers and Counselors

Mean counselor attributions for teachers in each of the four level-size categories ranged from 15 to 23 points higher than the teachers' self scores. Probabilities were all beyond .0001 and were associated with values of t ranging from 5.0 to 11.0. This pattern, which tends to confirm the hypothesis, held for the remaining five combinations. This is shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7 Means, t Values and Associated Probabilities for the Differences Between the Means of Counselor form II Scores and Teacher form I Scores

Condition	Mean Counselor Attributions for Teachers C form II	Mean Teacher Self Scores T form I	$\bar{X}_{C_{II}} - \bar{X}_{T_{I}}$	df	t	$p^{a} <$
Large Elementary	72.6	50.7	21.9	37	8.064	.0001
Small Elementary	74.1	51.7	22.4	64	10.877	.0001
Large Secondary	70.0	54.4	15.6	29	5.272	.0001
Small Secondary	74.0	55.0	19.0	47	9.501	.0001
Elementary	73.5	51.3	22.2	110	13.460	.0001
Secondary	72.0	54.7	17.2	81	10.055	.0001
Large	71.3	52.6	18.7	67	9.165	.0001
Small	74.0	53.2	20.9	115	13.772	.0001
All	72.8	53.0	19.8	197	16.388	.0001

[a] for two-tailed tests.

Conversely, teacher estimates of counselor pupil control ideology turned out to be quite similar to counselor self scores. In Table 8 it can be seen that the mean of the teacher form IV scores did not deviate from the mean of the counselor form I scores by more than five points. Values of t did not exceed ± 1.7 across the nine conditions, and coupled with their associated probabilities show interesting variations suggesting situational influence.

TABLE 8 Means, t Values and Associated Probabilities for the Differences Between the Means of Counselor form I Scores and Teacher form IV Scores

Condition	Mean Teacher Attributions for Counselors T form IV	Mean Counselor Self Scores C form I	$\bar{X}_{T\,IV} - \bar{X}_{C\,I}$	df	t	p[a] <
Large Elementary	53.5	48.8	4.7	32	1.516	.1395
Small Elementary	48.9	45.9	2.9	46	1.134	.2628
Large Secondary	51.9	54.2	-2.2	28	-.543	.5917
Small Secondary	48.1	52.0	-3.9	46	-1.167	.2491
Elementary	50.5	47.1	2.4	80	1.671	.0987
Secondary	49.8	53.1	-3.3	86	-1.311	.1934
Large	52.7	51.4	1.3	61	.490	.6256
Small	48.5	48.4	0.3	110	.087	.9305
All	50.2	49.7	0.4	175	.261	.7944

[a] p obtained for two-tailed tests.

As may be easily seen, the mean of the pupil control ideology scores attributed to counselors by teachers is less than counselor self-scores in every secondary school condition. This relationship is reversed for elementary conditions. We were not able to predict these shifts nor did we accurately predict the general relationship indicated. Had we run a one tailed test, it would have provided support for the prediction of custodial pluralistic ignorance for the condition of elementary only. Even if this were the case, it would seem unwise to conclude that our prediction had received support. The consistent pattern shown by teachers under all other conditions is so compelling that it is clear that teachers are not inaccurate concerning the pupil control ideology of counselors. The real question concerns the degree of importance which might be attached to the reversing relationship between counselor pupil control ideology and teacher estimation of it.

Looking at the dyad, teacher-counselor, another issue is called to mind; that is, the absence of two way pluralistic ignorance. What conditions increase the likelihood of one membership accurately perceiving the ideology of another membership while decreasing the likelihood of accuracy in the other direction? This question becomes especially interesting when one considers that according to the self scores of teachers and counselors the disagreements are not nearly as extreme as the respondents believe.[2]

Pluralistic Ignorance Between Principals and Counselors

It was expected that principal attributions for counselors would not differ from counselor self reports. The same expectation was advanced for the reverse relationship. According to the statistical decision rules neither of these predictions received support. Principals reported that counselors were more humanistic than counselors said they were. Counselors estimated principal PCI scores to be much more custodial than principals' self scores proved to be. However, due to the direction of principals' attributions for counselors, that is humanistic, it can be said that principals do not exhibit the common form of pluralistic ignorance about counselors. Counselors on the other hand meet the usual conditions of pluralistic ignorance in schools, that being a custodial misperception. Counselors seem to think of principals as being only slightly less custodial than teachers.

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[2] See Tables 14 and 15 in Appendix D.

As shown in Table 9 counselor form III score means ranged from 15 to 24 points higher than principal form I means in the four level size categories. Values of t ranged from 5. 5 to 10. 0 under these conditions and were associated with probabilities beyond .0001. When these groups were recombined into the larger level categories and size categories the discrepancy between the means fell within the above range, resulting in larger t values. When all 112 principals and all 119 counselors were compared these same relationships held. Hence, we conclude that counselors do not know the pupil control ideology of principals. The finding that counselors consider principals to be much more custodial than principals say they are, was not anticipated by our original hypotheses. However, it clearly fits the general pattern of custodial pluralistic ignorance.

On the other hand, principals consistently estimated counselor pupil control ideology scores to be more humanistic than counselors

TABLE 9 Means, t Values and Associated Probabilities for the Differences Between the Means of Counselor form III Scores and Principal form I Scores

Condition	Mean Counselor Attributions for Principals C form III	Mean Principal Self Scores P form I	$\bar{X}_{C_{II}} - \bar{X}_{P_{I}}$	df	t	$p^{a} <$
Large Elementary	69.5	45.3	24.1	45	9.9	.0001
Small Elementary	69.7	47.6	22.2	69	9.0	.0001
Large Secondary	67.0	48.4	18.6	45	7.7	.0001
Small Secondary	69.2	53.8	15.4	47	5.5	.0001
Elementary	69.6	46.7	22.9	116	12.9	.0001
Secondary	68.1	51.1	17.0	97	9.1	.0001
Large	68.3	47.2	21.1	96	12.2	.0001
Small	69.5	50.6	18.9	122	10.1	.0001
All	69.0	49.1	19.9	222	15.3	.0001

[a] for two-tailed tests.

reported. In Table 10 below, one can see that the accuracy of principal estimates of counselor pupil control ideology is associated with building size. Small secondary principals are clearly well-founded in their estimation of small secondary counselor ideology. Similarly, it would seem that small elementary principals have a greater tendency to report veridical scores for small elementary counselor ideology than large elementary principals for large elementary counselors. Due largely to the effects of small secondary principals, the condition of small school size again is related to principal accuracy.

As was indicated, although the statistical decision rules would suggest the conclusion that principals are accurate in some conditions and not others, we have chosen to ignore this convention. Certainly principal attributions for counselors are of an entirely different nature than they are for teachers. We would expect that principals if interviewed, would be more likely to validly describe the counselor attitudes about students than those of teachers. Principals' estimates of counselor ideology are in the "right" direction in the sense that counselors are relatively humanistic and principals see them as even more humanistic than they actually are. Moreover, it does not make a great deal of sense to quibble over the existence of pluralistic ignorance in this case. The important questions which come to mind do not depend on the fact of statistical significance. It is interesting to note that counselors over-attribute custodial scores to principals while principals consistently under-attribute custodial scores to

TABLE 10 Means t Values and Associated Probabilities for the Difference Between the Means of Principal form IV Scores and Counselor form I Scores

Condition	Mean Principal Attributions for Counselors P form IV	Mean Counselor Self Scores C form I	$\bar{X}_{P\,IV} - \bar{X}_{C\,I}$	df	t	p[a]
Large Elementary	41.1	48.8	-7.7	34	-2.316	.0267
Small Elementary	41.8	45.9	-4.2	62	-1.949	.0558
Large Secondary	45.5	54.2	-10.6	49	-3.290	.0019
Small Secondary	50.5	52.0	-1.5	43	- .484	.6305
Elementary	41.5	47.1	-5.6	100	-3.075	.0027
Secondary	48.0	53.1	-5.1	95	-2.504	.0140
Large	43.8	51.4	-7.5	102	-3.681	.0004
Small	46.0	48.4	-2.4	125	-1.259	.2102
All	45.0	49.7	-4.7	229	-3.388	.0008

[a] For two tailed tests

counselors. Too we ponder whether small, secondary schools really do provide chances for principal-counselor interactions which are not typical for the other conditions. Since this case is the one which clearly supports the original proposition, it seems likely that real differences may set small, secondary schools apart from the rest. At any rate, these questions would endure whatever our decision concerning the presence or absence of pluralistic ignorance.

A final point concerning this set of data is that counselors seem to feel that they disagree with principals about pupil control ideology. Yet, the means of the various counselor and principal self-scores are quike alike, and, in some cases, principals report themselves to be even more humanistic than counselors (see page 126).

Pluralistic Ignorance and Pupil Control Ideology

According to the methods and statistical decision rules employed, we have suggested that the following relationships exist. Teachers are pluralistically ignorant about teachers' pupil control ideology, holding their colleagues to be much more custodial than they, themselves, report. Teachers and principals are pluralistically ignorant about each other's pupil control ideology. Each reports the other to be much more custodial than they report themselves to be. Counselors are pluralistically ignorant with regard to teachers and principals, estimating each position's pupil control ideology to be much more custodial than either group reports. On the other hand, teachers are not inaccurate about pupil control orientation of counselors. The same tendency exists for principals' ideology estimates for counselors. Secondary teachers tend to underestimate counselor custodialism whereas elementary teachers tend to overestimate counselor custodialism.

Small secondary principals appear to have special insights into counselor pupil control ideology only slightly underestimating their custodialism. Other principals clearly underestimate counselor custodialism. Though counselors are the object of relatively accurate ideology perception, they themselves appear to be unable to "see" the orientation of others. Furthermore, their inaccurate perceptions are similar in size and direction to those misperceptions shared by principals for teachers and teachers for principals and other teachers.

A most interesting aspect of this analysis, one which was only alluded to in the first chapter, is the relatively slight disagreement among the three positions' members. It is fascinating to consider that professional organizational partners may feel themselves in extreme ideological conflict with one another when in fact the disparity is much less pronounced. However, we had good reason to predict the appearance of misperceived pupil control ideology and are not surprised by its presence.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to relate the results of tests of the hypotheses to the theoretical formulations underlying this study. To this end we briefly review both the theory upon which the study was built and the rationale for the specific hypotheses generated to test the theory. Next we show how some hypothesis test results have deviated from those which were expected. Following is a revised rationale offered in the belief that the theory has not been violated. Finally, a summary of this rather complex series of comparisons and reactions is given.

Review of the Theory and Prediction Rationale

The literature dealing with pluralistic ignorance essentially collapses into two major ideas. There are conditions in which persons systematically act in a manner which exaggerates their honest dispositions. There are conditions in which persons systematically receive messages about others which they interpret to have a meaning not held or not intended by the sender of the message. In situations where there are strong, pervasive and clear norms for a set of behaviors, persons are likely to perform these behaviors in approximate conformity with social rules despite their personal standards for action. When there exist social and physical structures which inhibit or prevent observation between and among persons, messages relateable to personal values may be distorted. The process of information distribution and the action of proscriptive and rigid rules for behavior are believed to contribute to this even when observation is possible. Similarly, expectations for the ideology of others built upon distorted information may determine one's perspective so that when observation is possible those cues which fit expectations receive greatest attention. That is to say, that if you believe a stranger to be a cad, upon meeting him it is possible to focus on those aspects of his behavior which verify that expectation. It would seem that the probability of this kind of occurence would be increased as the importance of expectation support becomes more intense.

In studies of the norms and interaction patterns of school employees each of the conditions believed to contribute to pluralistic ignorance has been reported. Specifically, it has been shown that there are rigid norms for adult behavior concerning pupils. These norms define the conditions for acceptable adult-pupil relations in and out of schools. They also restrict the range of interactions among adults when the object of discussion or other action is a pupil or a group of pupils. In terms of the pupil control ideology framework, these norms have been classified as essentially custodial, quite rigid, which is to say that in meeting the conditions defined by the norms, adults behave so as to maintain a proper social distance between themselves and students. The act of norm fulfillment is related to three frequently occurring conditions; an adult in the presence of a group of pupils, two or more adults in the same circumstance, and two or more adults out of the view of pupils. For example, a teacher and students in a study period or class meeting; counselors, teachers and the principal with students in the halls, the cafeteria, the auditorium or gymnasium; teachers in the faculty room and teachers in conversation with one another or with the principal or counselors without students present.

Also, it has been reported that adult employees in schools have restricted opportunities to observe the behavior of each other. Classrooms are usually walled off with their human contents hidden; counselors' and principals' offices are similarly sealed off from easy view.

Furthermore, when observation is possible, as in the situations listed above, the pupil directed behavior of adults is typically defined by the social system rules; when these behaviors are open to observation, the information they provide is distorted in the sense that the behaviors are primarily normative despite personalistic tendencies to the contrary. Given such circumstances, it seems likely that pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideology exists in schools.

Taking a lead from previous pupil control ideology researchers who showed significant differences among Form PCI scores for counselors, teachers and principals, we expected to find pluralistic ignorance among these three groups. We felt that teachers communicate their pupil control orientations to each other and to principals and counselors in a manner dictated by perceived norms for pupil directed behaviors. We expected that teachers, principals and counselors regard this "on stage" behavior as being congruent with teacher ideology for the reason that they are not aware of the mechanisms which reduce the reliability and validity of inferences made from their observations. Therefore, we predicted that teachers, principals and counselors would attribute scores to teachers that would be much more custodial than the ideology that our sample of teachers would report as their actual orientation.

In our judgment principals are also subject to the forces shaping adult behavior and the perception of adult behavior in schools. They too would be accorded a much more custodial pupil control orientation than they would report. However, we argued that principals and counselors had special opportunities for reliable and valid observations in cases where each other's pupil directed behavior was concerned. Thus, we predicted that only teachers would have an exaggerated view of principal ideology. Conversely, we predicted that counselors would have an accurate perception of principal ideology.

Using the same logic for counselors as we did for principals, we predicted that teachers would rate counselors to be much more custodial than counselors reported but that principals would not.

Review of Hypothesis Test Results

Upon testing these predictions, we found that pluralistic ignorance concerning the pupil control ideology of teachers, counselors and principals does exist. Yet, not all of our predictions received support. Clearly the typical teacher is attributed a much more custodial pupil control ideology by teachers, principals and counselors than our sample of teachers report for themselves. The typical principal is felt to have a much more custodial pupil control ideology than our sample of principals report for themselves. However, this attribution for principals holds for counselors as well as teachers. While the latter condition was expected, the former was not. Moreover, we found that teacher attributions for the pupil control ideology of the typical counselor closely approximates the scores of our sample of counselors. Finally, principal ideology estimates for the typical counselor did not exhibit conservative pluralistic ignorance with regard to the self scores of the counselor sample even though there are significant differences in six of the nine cases tested. The differences are in the direction of humanistic pluralistic ignorance.

In short, we expected to find that teachers as a group would exhibit conservative pluralistic ignorance about each others' pupil control ideology. Support for this prediction is rather formidable. Otherwise, it was expected that there would be two dyads which would exhibit two-way custodial pluralistic ignorance concerning pupil control ideology, the principal-teacher dyad and the counselor-teacher dyad. The former case seems well supported while the latter case shows only one way custodial pluralistic ignorance, counselors for teachers. Finally, we thought that a third dyad, principal-counselor, would not exhibit pluralistic ignorance. However, there is one way custodial pluralistic ignorance in this set. That being the case of counselor attributions for principals. The two figures below show the contrast between the relationship expected (Figure 1) and the relationship uncovered (Figure 2).

In these figures the heavy solid lines represent screens preventing valid and reliable observations and leading to pluralistic ignorance. The arrows show the direction of accurate perception, that is, the absence of pluralistic ignorance.

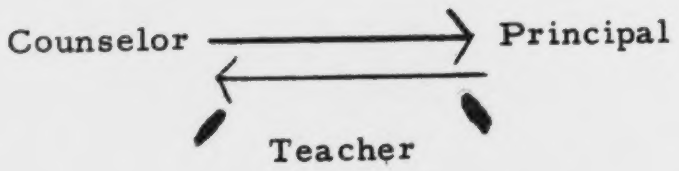

Figure 1 The Predicted Dyadic Relations Exhibiting Pluralistic Ignorance Concerning Pupil Control Ideology

Simply stated the diagram means that neither counselors nor principals would accurately "see" teacher pupil control ideology. Neither could teachers accurately "see" pupil control ideology of counselors and principals. However, it was predicted that counselors and principals would know each other's ideology.

Our evidence shows a different pattern among the three dyads.

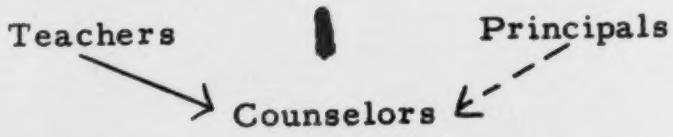

Figure 2 The Dyadic Relations Exhibiting Pluralistic Ignorance About Pupil Control Ideology

Principals and teachers do not accurately "see" each other's pupil control ideology, but teachers do "see" the ideology of counselors. Principals have a less inaccurate view of counselors than occurs in any of the present comparisons that show pluralistic ignorance, although they overestimate counselor humanism (hence the dotted line). Counselors, on the other hand, do not accurately estimate the pupil control ideology of either teachers or principals.

Revision of the Rationale for the Hypotheses

The conditions under which people may receive faulty information about each other have been related to the variables used to explain the occurrence of pluralistic ignorance. These conditions seem to hold in schools to the extent that teachers, principals and counselors have exaggerated impressions of teacher pupil control ideology. These same features also seem to operate to cause counselors to hold exaggerated views about principal pupil control ideology. However, they appear to break down when both teachers and principals receive information about counselors.

A crucial question which arises because of these relationships is whether counselors are not subject to the same forces shaping teacher and principal behavior, or whether there are relatively valid and reliable channels of observation open to those viewing counselors but closed to counselors viewing others. In developing our original hypotheses we felt that principals and counselors did have opportunities for gathering accurate information about each other's pupil control ideology. We argued that counselors and principals have "off stage" interactions wherein the rigid, proscriptive norms for pupil directed behavior are neither legitimate nor enforced. Apparently this is not the case, at least for principals. It appears that there is little or no chance for the expression of private and personal values for principals or for teachers. Therefore, it would seem unreasonable to think that counselors can be "off stage" in the presence of teachers or principals who are "on stage." That is, all actors in this study, teachers, principals and counselors, are almost always "on stage" playing out their roles in accordance with norms for their behavior. We suspect that members of all three groups typically say what others expect them to say and otherwise behave as others expect them to behave. Following this line of reasoning we can conclude that the norms for pupil directed behavior are differentiated according to various social system roles. The norm for teachers is a custodial or relatively rigid rule. The norm for principal behavior is similarly custodial. The norm for counselor behavior may be more humanistic and permissive. In other words, counselors, as we now understand that role, may have the legitimate social system right to play a humanistic role. The following are possible: Counselors may be subject to different norms. They may enjoy greater laxity in the application of the same norms which apply to others. They may have developed greater protection against negative sanctions for norm violations.

These possibilities need not be mutually exclusive. Considering that counselor training programs are more or less clinically oriented, it is likely that professional norms for humanistic behaviors are generated in professional training programs and sustained through subsequent professional activities, literature and organizations. Further, whereas teachers and principals play primary roles in adaptive and integrative organizational functions, counselor training and professional commitments are more clearly identified with the instructional function of schools, the goal achievement function.[1] In hewing to the demands of the integrative function principals have a duty to protect the organization from environmental forces which threaten the internal stability of the school. In similar fashion teachers are vulnerable to both outside and inside forces which further threaten whatever closure the organization might establish for achieving its purpose. The commitment to the adaptative function by teachers illustrates goal displacement in which the objectives of goal achievement are given low priority. This phenomenon helps to explain why teaching and instruction are really quite different and why one may know an enormous amount of information about teaching and at the same time know next to nothing about instruction. The counselor role is emerging as quite separate from either managing or teaching, that is, from integration and adaptation. In truth, many counseling skills are clearly compatible with instruction, some of these being diagnostic techniques, the selection and application of strategies for the purpose of individual pupil change and evaluation skills. These are qualities necessary for school goal achievement but not usually contained in the teaching repetoire. Thus, counselors may be expected to do different things than are teachers and principals and the role designed for counselors is less crucial to the protection and defense of the organization.

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[1] The distinction here is that teaching is a role related property. Teaching, that is, being a teacher, can only be studied in schools. Instruction, the facilitation of learning, can be studied when and wherever learning occurs. It is possible for one to be a teacher and an instructor. But to be an instructor one does not have to be a teacher. In terms of schools, teaching is seen as the adaptive function and instruction, as the goal achievement function of the organization. See Thompson (52). The central notion here is that teaching is more important to teachers than instruction. Also, that counselor training closely resembles that necessary for instructional proficiency. Such training ordinarily is not given to teachers.

Finally, although counseling activity may be regarded as somewhat disruptive to adaptive mechanisms established by teachers, these are only troublesome in that they indicate a lack of unanimity and consensus. In other words, even though teachers may refer pupils to counselors for the purpose of disciplinary action only to find that counselors do not cure by paddling but by discussion, it really does not matter. The principal or the assistant principal is often a formidable enough adaptive device capable of keeping the recalcitrant tolerable. When the child returns from the counselor unscathed, he can be speedily sent off to the principal at the next infraction. Even if counselors undermine well established control mechanisms, the greatest blow to teachers is that counselors indicate disagreement with tried and true methods. While teachers may see counselors as too lenient and permissive, this lack of consensus may prove irksome but does not require strong negative sanctions. As such, counselor behaviors need not become teacher-like.

Given that norms for behavior may be differentiated by roles, it is possible that counselor behavior is congruent with counselor pupil control ideology. Because of their organizational duties and problems and their professional training, teachers and principals probably have somewhat different norms than do counselors. These do not give teachers and principals chances to adequately display their actual attitudes. The differences which exist among the ideologies of members of these three roles may become exaggerated due to varying rules for behavior. Furthermore, it is likely that these roles are associated with different casts, different images. If teachers and principals have a more traditional mien, counselors can be thought of as being relatively empathetic. If teachers and principals can be thought to be organizationally focused, counselors may be seen as client centered. So that even if one were not a school employee, his estimates of role related pupil control ideology might envince the relationships given by teachers, principals and counselors in this study. If so, expectations for counselor behavior might differ from teacher behavior. If one were told that Smith is a counselor the kinds of data he might be receptive to could differ from those used if he thought Smith to be a teacher or a principal. Even if counselors and teachers have small differences in pupil related attitudes, it may be thought that these are much greater due to the varying dimensions in associated images.

Consequently should expectations for behavior in special roles differ, behavior within those roles could differ, or be thought to differ given no real disparity. Surely both possibilities present themselves in schools. Teachers and principals must be aware of the more permissive image of counselors, and perhaps attend to those elements of counseling more frequently. Counselors probably act in accordance with the image which exists for them. That counselors see teachers and principals acting as they are supposed to act is no more surprising than to note that liberals find conservative elements in the behavior of industrialists. Teachers and principals frequently behave as if they fit their popular images.

These two factors, expectations shaping behavior, and expectations for observing behavior, also contribute to pluralistic ignorance. In the absence of checks on the attitudes of others, perceptions of behavior can be distorted. In our original hypotheses, we predicted that principals and counselors would have opportunities to locate and define each other's actual pupil control attitudes. Apparently these opportunities do not exist in most cases. Counselors are wildly custodial in estimating principals' control ideology. Principals give substantially humanistic estimates of counselor ideology. Teachers are rather perceptive in estimating counselor ideology. All estimates of teacher ideology are considerably off the mark. Persons may be predisposed as to what to look for in the behavior of others, perceive those things that are expected and make logical inferences about related ideology. All this seems to contribute to the development of pluralistic ignorance in schools.

In generating hypotheses concerning counselors, we assumed the existence of accurate role specific information gathering mechanisms. We overlooked the influence of publicly held stereotypes and images. Hence, our principal-counselor and teacher-counselor predictions were not supported. In finding that our rationale does not match subsequent evidence, it seems reasonable to believe that the assumptions made about counselor interactions were not valid.

Summary

In brief, we have concluded that pluralistic ignorance about pupil control ideology exists among teachers and between teachers and principals. Similarly counselors exhibit conservative pluralistic ignorance for the pupil control ideology of teachers and principals. However, the pupil control ideology of counselors is known by teachers and consistently underestimated by principals though their attributions verge on actual ideology. In our analyses, we have uncovered examples of intra-group and inter-group pluralistic ignorance. We have found examples of two-way and one-way pluralistic ignorance. Though we have not highlighted the result in our past analysis, we have located an example of humanistic pluralistic ignorance as well as instances of the more typical, custodial form.

Furthermore, we have suggested explanations to account for those cases where the original hypotheses were not supported. We have suggested that counselors are able to behave in congruence with their pupil control ideology to a greater extent than are principals and teachers. This has led us to revise the assumptions used for generating hypotheses. For what we may have discovered are conditions under which certain organization roles are more apt to be associated with pluralistic ignorance than others. We have suggested that in such conditions norms for public behavior are differentially applied according to differing role functions. Moreover, indications are good that in the situations investigated people selectively see and accurately interpret perceptions of public behavior regardless of its congruence with private ideology.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this chapter a short review of this investigation is provided. Some brief speculation concerning possible alternate explanations for the occurrence of pluralistic ignorance as we have found it in schools is also offered, as well as suggestions for further research.

Review

This inquiry is concerned with how certain public school personnel view each other's pupil control ideologies. Represented by a custodial humanistic continuum, pupil control ideology refers to the orientations of school personnel concerning the rights and status of the organization's pupil clients. A custodial ideology emphasizes the maintenance of order, distrust of pupils and a moralistic approach to pupil control; a humanistic ideology emphasizes an accepting, trustful view of students and optimism with regard to the ability of pupils to behave responsibly. Pupil control ideology is operationalized as a questionnaire instrument, Form PCI.

The concept of pluralistic ignorance refers to the shared misperception of an attitude, norm or belief held by members of a group. Pluralistic ignorance has been found between and among group members when opportunities for the expression of personal beliefs were limited by a strong norm and by insulated patterns of social interaction.

We held that, in a typical school setting, the conditions associated with pluralistic ignorance are evident. These conditions are also related to pupil control problems critical to organizational stability. Norms that require the maintenance of social distance between students and faculty, not only serve to restrict the public behavior of school personnel toward students, but channel it in a custodial direction. The physical and social barriers common to school organizations also serve to limit opportunities to observe colleagues in other than high visibility situations. In these cases, public behavior likely indicates support for the prevailing rigid norms concerning pupils.

We expected that there would be pluralistic ignorance concerning pupil control ideology in schools. In light of the discussion above, we predicted that persons would generally attribute a more custodial pupil control ideology to a focal group than members of that group would report. We thought that this prediction would hold for the following relationships: (1) teachers for teachers; (2) principals for teachers, (3) teachers for principals; (4) teachers for counselors; (5) counselors for teachers. In contrast to these predictions, we held that principals and counselors would not have inaccurate views concerning each other's ideology since we believed they had opportunities to express more personal thoughts to one another.

Methods

All public school buildings in Pennsylvania were classified by level and size, categories from which 160 buildings were randomly selected for each of the three positions. From faculty employment lists of the selected buildings in the four level size categories, a random sample of 480 persons was selected.

Instrumentation

Form PCI was prepared in four forms, identical except for instructions. The first form, I, instructed respondents to react to the 20 Likert type items with regard to their personal views concerning pupil control issues. These responses were taken as estimates of the respondents' own pupil control ideology. The other forms, II, III and IV, instructed participants to estimate the responses of the typical teacher, principal and counselor. Responses to items of these latter forms were regarded as the pupil control ideology attributed by these school personnel to the typical member of each of the three occupational groups. Responses were scored from five to one, depending on the indicated degree of agreement with each statement. Summated scores were obtained for each form, the higher the score the more custodial the ideology.

Estimates of split-half reliability using the Guttman formula and concurrent validity taken from an ideal type selection (Form V) proved to be satisfactory.

Statistical Procedures

Each hypothesis was tested under nine conditions which varied systematically according to the building size and level categories. In the case of the repeated measure hypothesis for teachers, a t test for correlated means was used. For each of the other six hypotheses involving uncorrelated means the Behrens-Fisher t' test with the Welch solution for degrees of freedom, was employed. In all, 63 separate t tests were analyzed, each using a two tail decision rule and a .05 rejection level.

Results

Pluralistic Ignorance Among Teachers: In each of the nine conditions of analysis the mean of teacher attributions for the typical teacher was significantly greater than the mean of teacher self scores. It was concluded that custodial pluralistic ignorance does exist among the members of the teacher role regarding pupil control ideology.

Pluralistic Ignorance Between Teachers and Principals: Under all conditions, teachers consistently attributed significantly more custodial PCI mean scores to the typical principal than the mean scores principals actually reported. This same pattern held for the relationship between principal attributions for the typical teacher and teacher self scores. It was concluded that two way custodial pluralistic ignorance does exist between the members of the teacher and principal roles concerning pupil control ideology.

Pluralistic Ignorance Between Teachers and Counselors: Mean counselor attributions for the typical teacher were significantly greater than the mean of teacher self scores in all nine conditions. It was concluded that custodial pluralistic ignorance does exist between counselors and teachers regarding the pupil control ideology of teachers.

Mean teacher attributions for the typical counselor were not significantly different than the mean of counselor self scores in any of the nine conditions. In some instances teacher estimates were less than counselor self scores. It was concluded that pluralistic ignorance does not exist between teachers and counselors regarding the pupil control ideology of counselors.

Pluralistic Ignorance Between Principals and Counselors: Counselors estimated the mean PCI score of the typical principal to be significantly greater than the mean of principal self scores in all nine conditions. It was concluded that custodial pluralistic ignorance does characterize counselors perception of the pupil control ideology of principals; this, contrary to our prediction.

Mean principal attributions for the typical counselor were more humanistic than the mean of counselor self scores in all nine conditions. In each case, except those involving principals and counselors in small buildings, this difference was significant. While it was concluded that custodial pluralistic ignorance does not exist between principals and counselors regarding counselor pupil control ideology, there is some statistical support for a conclusion of humanistic pluralistic ignorance. Again, this finding is contrary to our prediction.

Discussion

We predicted and found conservative pluralistic ignorance concerning pupil control ideology between and among three occupational groups in public schools. Specifically supported were those hypotheses concerning teacher, principal and counselor attributions for the typical teacher as well as teacher attributions for the typical principal. Contrary to our prediction, we discovered that counselors exhibit the same pattern with regard to principals.

Further, our data revealed that the pupil control ideology attributed to the typical counselor by teachers does not deviate significantly from the pupil control ideology reported by counselors. Principal estimates are generally significantly different, and all are deviant in a humanistic direction. In all cases in which attributions were given to the typical teacher and principal, a custodial misperception was evident. The attributions for the typical counselor tend to exhibit a relatively accurate or a more humanistic pupil control ideology than counselors report. It is clear that the counselor position is the only one for which conservative pluralistic ignorance does not exist.

These findings suggest at least three alternate conclusions. One is that, because of the effects of pre-professional training, role socialization, and organizational requirements, teachers and principals may be or feel required to act as if they are quite custodial, more so than they actually are. Counselors, due to different preparation and occupational pressures, may not have to or do not feel compelled to act in close accordance with other than their personal orientations. Another possible inference is that the public image of counselors is considerably more humanistic than the custodial image of teachers and principals. As used here, Form PCI may have tapped into these popular stereotypes. A custodial stereotype for teachers and principals is probably inaccurate, whereas a more humanistic stereotype for counselors is quite like counselor pupil control ideology. Thus, by using only stereotypes, or popular images, respondents could be fairly accurate about counselors and relatively inaccurate about teachers' and principals' pupil control ideology.

A third explanation is more or less a combination of the two suggested above. That is, these position related images do exist, and being rather well established, feed back to influence the behavior of persons in these positions. Similarly, such images also sensitize the perception of role behavior by others, so that attention is more apt to be directed to role expressions consistent with the stereotype. In this light teachers and principals tend to and are seen to display custodial traits; counselors may act differently, perhaps like counselors are supposed to, and are, due to others' preconceptions, perceived as possessing humanistic characteristics. Evidence for this latter speculation can be drawn from the pattern of liberal attributions for counselors. Secondary teachers who have greater opportunities to interact with counselors rate the typical counselor as more humanistic than the corresponding counselors rate themselves. Elementary teachers rate the typical counselor as more custodial than the corresponding counselor groups rate themselves. Elementary teachers may have fewer interactions with counselors than secondary teachers because of differences in counselor staffing patterns and pupil personnel problems between the elementary and secondary levels. As we suggested, principals have opportunities to interact with counselors also and, like secondary teachers, attribute to the typical counselor a more humanistic (often a significantly different) pupil control ideology than counselor self scores indicate. Counselors also under attribute custodialism to counselors.[1] Thus, persons influenced by both popular images and organizational role differences may tend to act and to perceive in selective role specific ways.

Future Research

Should one desire to investigate the explanatory power of these various conclusions, the following general approach may be useful. If one were to administer Form PCI as used here to a select sample of non members of public school organizations, it would be possible by comparing those results to our findings, to ascertain the existence and pervasiveness of pupil control related stereotypes or images. By asking school personnel to respond to the instrument estimating the ideology, not of typical role members but of specific persons in these three roles with whom they have varying degrees of familiarity, it would be possible to estimate the weight given to stereotypes by respondents in our study. Familiar persons, on the whole, might be attributed scores more consistent with their personal ideology. Less familiar persons in the same role might be attributed scores more similar to the popular stereotypes.

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[1] See Table 15 in Appendix D.

By the same token, it would seem that more abstract groups would be given an image like (stereotypic) attribution. Less abstract groups may be perceived more accurately. For example, if in yet another analysis teachers were to estimate the PCI of the typical teacher in their district and the typical teacher in their building, mean scores in the former case may be more custodial than mean scores in the latter. A comparison of all attributions, familiar, non-familiar, less abstract group, more abstract group, might suggest an order ranging from image like to particular. Such an evaluation should suggest in a more clear fashion, an explanation for the results of this analysis; a major question being, are stereotypes used by respondents in such analyses and, if so, under what conditions are they given the greatest weight? A second major issue is, do chances for observation refine estimates of pupil control ideology? Such series of analyses might shed some light on each question.

Additional research attention could also be given to the following questions. Is it possible to eliminate pluralistic ignorance and replace it with pluralistic awareness, or are there certain organizational characteristics which mitigate against this occurring? If awareness were possible, might it have hazards? Does pluralistic ignorance exist in any one school setting or only at the level we have defined the problem? Also, what are the functions, contributive and negative, of pluralistic ignorance; does it in fact serve a useful organizational purpose or is it, as we suspect, only likely to stifle needed improvements. Yet another question should ask whether the fundamental orientation the school typically takes with regard to its technical or instructional function, a means end confusion, helps to encourage and maintain systematic misperception. While membership in the teaching fraternity is commonly held to mean instructional expertise, actually such membership may more likely connote pupil management success. An armada of technical fallacies springs from this and other equally muddled ideas, which in turn appear to build from the abundance of managerial perogatives both foisted upon and actively sought by teaching personnel. These seem designed to take the place of an unreliable body of instructional knowledge. Both the basis for and the results of this rather well known school condition may be tied to pluralistic ignorance. Certainly, answers to these questions would have both theoretical and applied significance.

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APPENDIX A

THE PUPIL CONTROL IDEOLOGY INSTRUMENT AND PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Form PCI

Information

On the following four identical forms there are twenty statements about teaching. Please notice that each form has a different heading, the first asks you to respond to the statements with regard to your own feelings about them. The second, third and fourth forms ask you to respond in the manner you believe the typical teacher (Form 2), the typical principal (Form 3) and the typical guidance counselor (Form 4) would respond. Our purpose is to gather information about the actual and the attributed attitudes of educators concerning these statements.

You will recognize that the statements are such that there are no correct responses. We are interested in your frank opinion of how you feel and how you think others feel about them.

Your responses will remain confidential, and no individual or school will be named in the report of this study. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Form I

INSTRUCTIONS: Following are twenty statements about schools, teachers, and pupils. Please indicate your personal opinion about each statement by circling the appropriate response at the right of the statement.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is desirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.	SA	A	U	D	SD
2. Pupils are usually not capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning.	SA	A	U	D	SD
3. Directing sarcastic remarks toward a defiant pupil is a good disciplinary technique.	SA	A	U	D	SD
4. Beginning teachers are not likely to maintain strict enough control over their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
5. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
6. The best principals give unquestioning support to teachers in disciplining pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
7. Pupils should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8. It is justifiable to have pupils learn many facts about a subject even if they have no immediate application.	SA	A	U	D	SD
9. Too much pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic preparation.	SA	A	U	D	SD
10. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.	SA	A	U	D	SD
11. It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.	SA	A	U	D	SD
12. Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not have much influence on school policy.	SA	A	U	D	SD
13. Pupils can be trusted to work together without supervision.	SA	A	U	D	SD
14. If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense.	SA	A	U	D	SD
15. If pupils are allowed to use the lavatory without getting permission, this privilege will be abused.	SA	A	U	D	SD
16. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.	SA	A	U	D	SD
17. It is often necessary to remind pupils that their status in school differs from that of teachers.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18. A pupil who destroys school material or property should be severely punished.	SA	A	U	D	SD
19. Pupils cannot perceive the difference between democracy and anarchy in the classroom.	SA	A	U	D	SD
20. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad.	SA	A	U	D	SD

FORM 4

INSTRUCTIONS: Following are twenty statements about schools. Please indicate how you think the typical guidance counselor would respond to each item.

Circle each item as you believe the typical GUIDANCE COUNSELOR would.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is desirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.	SA	A	U	D	SD
2. Pupils are usually not capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning.	SA	A	U	D	SD
3. Directing sarcastic remarks toward a defiant pupil is a good disciplinary technique.	SA	A	U	D	SD
4. Beginning teachers are not likely to maintain strict enough control over their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
5. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
6. The best principals give unquestioning support to teachers in disciplining pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
7. Pupils should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8. It is justifiable to have pupils learn many facts about a subject even if they have no immediate application.	SA	A	U	D	SD
9. Too much pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic preparation.	SA	A	U	D	SD
10. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.	SA	A	U	D	SD
11. It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.	SA	A	U	D	SD
12. Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not have much influence on school policy.	SA	A	U	D	SD
13. Pupils can be trusted to work together without supervision.	SA	A	U	D	SD
14. If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense.	SA	A	U	D	SD
15. If pupils are allowed to use the lavatory without getting permission, this privilege will be abused.	SA	A	U	D	SD
16. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.	SA	A	U	D	SD
17. It is often necessary to remind pupils that their status in school differs from that of teachers.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18. A pupil who destroys school material or property should be severely punished.	SA	A	U	D	SD
19. Pupils cannot perceive the difference between democracy and anarchy in the classroom.	SA	A	U	D	SD
20. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad.	SA	A	U	D	SD

FORM 3

INSTRUCTIONS: Following are twenty statements about schools. Please indicate how you think the typical principal would respond to each item.

Circle each item as you believe the typical PRINCIPAL would.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is desirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.	SA	A	U	D	SD
2. Pupils are usually not capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning.	SA	A	U	D	SD
3. Directing sarcastic remarks toward a defiant pupil is a good disciplinary technique.	SA	A	U	D	SD
4. Beginning teachers are not likely to maintain strict enough control over their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
5. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
6. The best principals give unquestioning support to teachers in disciplining pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
7. Pupils should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8. It is justifiable to have pupils learn many facts about a subject even if they have no immediate application.	SA	A	U	D	SD
9. Too much pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic preparation.	SA	A	U	D	SD
10. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.	SA	A	U	D	SD
11. It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.	SA	A	U	D	SD
12. Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not have much influence on school policy.	SA	A	U	D	SD
13. Pupils can be trusted to work together without supervision.	SA	A	U	D	SD
14. If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense.	SA	A	U	D	SD
15. If pupils are allowed to use the lavatory without getting permission, this privilege will be abused.	SA	A	U	D	SD
16. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.	SA	A	U	D	SD
17. It is often necessary to remind pupils that their status in school differs from that of teachers.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18. A pupil who destroys school material or property should be severely punished.	SA	A	U	D	SD
19. Pupils cannot perceive the difference between democracy and anarchy in the classroom.	SA	A	U	D	SD
20. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher look bad.	SA	A	U	D	SD

FORM 2

INSTRUCTIONS: Following are twenty statements about schools. Please indicate how you think the typical teacher would respond to each item.

Circle each item as you believe the typical TEACHER would.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is desirable to require pupils to sit in assigned seats during assemblies.	SA	A	U	D	SD
2. Pupils are usually not capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning.	SA	A	U	D	SD
3. Directing sarcastic remarks toward a defiant pupil is a good disciplinary technique.	SA	A	U	D	SD
4. Beginning teachers are not likely to maintain strict enough control over their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
5. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
6. The best principals give unquestioning support to teachers in discipling pupils.	SA	A	U	D	SD
7. Pupils should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8. It is justifiable to have pupils learn many facts about a subject even if they have no immediate application.	SA	A	U	D	SD
9. Too much pupil time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic preparation.	SA	A	U	D	SD
10. Being friendly with pupils often leads them to become too familiar.	SA	A	U	D	SD
11. It is more important for pupils to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions.	SA	A	U	D	SD
12. Student governments are a good "safety valve" but should not have much influence on school policy.	SA	A	U	D	SD
13. Pupils can be trusted to work together without supervision.	SA	A	U	D	SD
14. If a pupil uses obscene or profane language in school, it must be considered a moral offense.	SA	A	U	D	SD
15. If pupils are allowed to use the lavatory without getting permission, this privilege will be abused.	SA	A	U	D	SD
16. A few pupils are just young hoodlums and should be treated accordingly.	SA	A	U	D	SD
17. It is often necessary to remind pupils that their status in school differs from that of teachers.	SA	A	U	D	SD

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18. A pupil who destroys school material or property should be severely punished.	SA	A	U	D	SD
19. Pupils cannot perceive the difference between democracy and anarchy in the classroom.	SA	A	U	D	SD
20. Pupils often misbehave in order to make the teacher lock bad.	SA	A	U	D	SD

DATA SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Please complete this sheet by responding to each item.

1. SEX: ☐ male ☐ female

2. AGE IN YEARS: ____________

3. PRESENT POSITION: ☐ Teacher ☐ Counselor ☐ Principal
   ☐ Other ______________________

4. SCHOOL LEVEL: ☐ Elementary ☐ Junior High ☐ Senior High
   ☐ Other ________________

5. NUMBER OF TEACHERS in your building:
   ☐ less than 30 ☐ 30 to 60 ☐ more than 60
   If you work in more than one building indicate the number of teachers and building in the space to the right. ____Buildings
   ____Teachers

6. EXPERIENCE: Experience in years as of the end of the current school year:

	1 to 2 yrs.	3 to 5 yrs.	6 to 10 yrs.	11 or more yrs.
a. as a Teacher	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. as a Counselor	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. as a Principal	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. a. Place the letter M, in the box indicating the group whose members have educational attitudes most like your own.

   b. Place the letter L, in the box indicating the group whose members have educational attitudes least like your own.

   ☐ Parents ☐ Teachers ☐ School Board

   ☐ Students ☐ Counselors ☐ Principals

8. Do you wish to receive a report of this study? ☐ Yes ☐ No

   If yes, please give your name and address.

APPENDIX B

FORM V

FORM V

INSTRUCTIONS: Please read the two descriptions of personal orientations, Type C and Type H. Then answer the three questions below by checking the correct box.

Type C

Traditional persons who prefer to work in the formal atmosphere of a traditional school are typical of Type C. The primary concern of these people is that of maintaining order among pupils. These people think of pupils in terms of stereotypes based upon appearance, behavior, and parents' social status. They look upon pupils as irresponsible and undisciplined; therefore, they believe punishment to be a necessary form of control. These people do not attempt to understand pupils' behavior, but instead, view misbehavior in moralistic terms or as a personal affront. Persons holding this viewpoint tend to treat pupils impersonally, to mistrust them, and to be generally pessimistic. These persons prefer an autocratic school organization where adult-pupil status is rigidly enforced and pupils accept communications and orders without question. Teachers and pupils alike feel responsible for their actions only to the extent that orders are carried out to the letter.

Type H

Permissive persons who prefer to work in an informal atmosphere are typical of Type H. These people view the behavior of pupils in psychological and sociological rather than moralistic terms. Engagement in worthwhile activities is viewed as more important to the pupils learning than is the absorption of facts. The withdrawing pupil is seen as a problem equal to that of the overactive one. These persons are optimistic that through close personal relationships with pupils and the positive aspects of friendship and respect, the pupils will learn to discipline themselves. Such persons desire a democratic school organization with flexibility in rules, increased pupil self-determination, and two-way communication between pupils and adults. The difference between the status of adults in schools and that of pupils is minimized. Adults and pupils alike are willing to act upon their own volition and to accept responsibility for their actions.

QUESTIONS: In terms of the above descriptions:	TYPE C	TYPE H
1) the typical teacher is most like	( )	( )
2) the typical principal is most like	( )	( )
3) the typical guidance counselor is most like	( )	( )

APPENDIX C

LETTERS AND REPORT TO PARTICIPANTS

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
207 Rackley Building
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

College of Education
Division of Education Policy Studies

October 16, 1970

Dear Colleagues:

We are writing to ask your assistance in a study of educator attitudes being conducted through the Division of Education Policy Studies.

Specifically we would like your opinions about certain common school occurrences and your thoughts about the opinions of others. For this purpose we have enclosed a brief questionnaire and data sheet which can be completed in less than 20 minutes. No individual or school district will be identified in the report of this research.

Your responses will remain anonymous. Each questionnaire is identified by number only. Please return the questionnaire and data sheet at your earliest convenience in the stamped envelope provided.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Donald J. Willower
Professor of Education

P.S. If you would like a summary of the results of the study, check the appropriate box on the data sheet and we will send one to you.

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
207 Rackley Building
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

College of Education
Division of Education Policy Studies

Dear Colleague:

Some time ago you were one of a number of educators who received a questionnaire-type instrument in connection with a research project on teacher-administrator-counselor attitudes being conducted by the Division of Education Policy Studies at The Pennsylvania State University.

These forms do not take long to complete; the time required by most persons is less than a half hour.

For your convenience we have enclosed another copy of the questionnaire. Your responses will be strictly confidential. All replies are anonymous and no individual or school will be named in any report of the research.

Your prompt cooperation will be greatly appreciated as it is prerequisite to the success of this research. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Donald J. Willower
Professor of Education

DJW:de
Enclosure

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
318 Rackley Building
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

College of Education
Division of Education Policy Studies

Dear Colleague:

Last fall you participated in a study conducted through the Division by completing a number of forms for us.

We have attached a report of our findings; we hope they will be of interest to you.

We want to take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution to this research. We think our findings will be of value to educators. We realize that the work could not have been completed without the help of interested educators like yourself.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Donald J. Willower
Professor of Education

John S. Packard
Project Director

PUPIL CONTROL: EDUCATORS' ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS
A REPORT TO PARTICIPANTS

The study was designed to test the notion that teachers, counselors and principals may be unfamiliar with their colleagues' personal attitudes concerning pupil conduct. Form PCI, the questionnaire-like instrument you filled out, has been used previously to get an idea of differences in pupil behavior attitudes which exist among educators. In the past over a number of studies, counselors and principals have indicated a more liberal orientation than teachers. Scores can range from 20, most liberal, to 100, most conservative. The Form PCI scores of counselors averaged about 50. Principals have tended to score only slightly higher, about 52. Teachers usually scored about 7-10 points above principals, that is, they tended to be consistently somewhat more conservative. We felt that these attitudes were not clearly understood by many of the professional staff in public schools. Due to the importance of pupil behavior problems and the demanding nature of their duties, school personnel may feel that teachers, counselors and principals are much less liberal than they actually are.

As you may remember, the questionnaire you completed had four identical forms. The first asked for your reaction to twenty statements about pupil conduct issues. The others asked you to estimate how you thought the typical teacher, principal and counselor would respond to the same twenty statements. Items marked strongly agree were scored five (5); those marked strongly disagree were scored one (1). The item scores were added for each form and the totals were recorded under the position, school size and teaching level reported. For example, if you are an elementary teacher in a building with fewer than 1000 students, the four separate scores were recorded in the category small elementary teacher. The first score, your own, was taken as your actual pupil control orientation. The other three scores, the ones you gave for the typical teacher, the typical principal and counselor, were used to see how they differed from the actual scores. We mailed these questionnaires to 160 teachers, 160 principals and 160 counselors in Pennsylvania covering urban and rural areas. We had replies from 87 teachers, 112 principals and 119 counselors.

We found that our expectations were realized. The average, actual teacher score was about 55. Yet teachers estimated that the typical teacher would respond to the questionnaire much more conservatively. They estimated a mean of 75. Principals and counselors attributed the same, inaccurate, conservative orientation to the typical teacher; one far less liberal than teachers' actual scores would warrant. Likewise teachers and counselors reported that principals were much less liberal than principals indicated. The average principal actual score was about 50. Yet teachers and counselors estimated that the typical principal would score about 70, or much more conservative. The mean of actual counselor pupil control orientations was also close to 50. Interestingly teachers estimated the typical counselors' score to be about 52. Principals guessed that counselors are more liberal and attributed scores to that position which averaged approximately 46. In short, teachers and principals are thought to be very much more conservative about pupil control problems than they appear to be. In contrast, counselors are thought of as relatively liberal.

As you may have noticed, teachers, principals and counselors exhibit much more consensus in their actual pupil control orientations than they believe. We speculate that there is little opportunity in schools for teachers and principals to express their personal feelings about these issues. Influenced by the importance given to problem of pupil misconduct, teachers and principals, it seems, are required to act more conservatively than counselors. Part of this requirement is to support a unity of opinion about students both in word and deed. There are few locations in a school where this requirement is relaxed. Thus teachers and principals may feel compelled to act in ways that are not entirely consistent with their actual attitudes about this and perhaps other issues as well. Consequently the typical teacher and principal may be generally thought of as relatively conservative. Counselors, however, are not usually thought to be as conservative. Apparently, these small differences in actual scores become dramatically exaggerated in the collective view. Who would think, for example, that principals and counselors are almost equally liberal when it comes to pupil control problems.

The implications of these findings seem clear. Not only are teachers and principals believed to hold attitudes which conflict with those of counselors, they apparently behave in ways that reinforce this belief. Teachers seem to think that teachers and principals are quite conservative and counselors, rather liberal. Principals and counselors appear to agree. At times, persons in these roles must think that their own attitudes concerning pupil conduct are in the minority. Not only may they feel compelled to act in a manner less liberal than they would like, but thinking that most people are more conservative than themselves, avoid trying new, permissive educational techniques also. If true, this is certainly unfortunate since there is much more agreement about liberal policies than most of us generally believe.

June 1971
University Park, Pennsylvania

J. S. Packard
D. J. Willower
Division of Education Policy Studies
The Pennsylvania State University

APPENDIX D

TABLES OF DATA FROM THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

TABLE 11 Mean, Standard Deviation and Sample Size for PCI form Scores for Each of the Nine Conditions of Analysis for Teachers

Condition	Form I		Form II		Form III		Form IV		N
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	
Large Elementary	50.687	8.006	70.937	9.546	65.000	9.338	53.500	9.805	16
Small Elementary	51.655	6.613	70.448	11.128	65.276	10.018	48.897	12.093	29
Large Secondary	54.389	10.683	75.444	10.275	67.667	11.966	51.944	15.187	18
Small Secondary	55.000	7.271	69.125	8.456	63.375	10.619	48.125	10.032	24
Elementary	51.311	7.064	70.622	10.484	65.178	9.675	50.533	11.437	45
Secondary	54.738	8.779	71.833	9.683	65.214	11.280	49.762	12.480	42
Large	52.647	9.563	73.324	10.042	66.412	10.734	52.676	12.772	34
Small	53.170	7.054	69.849	9.937	64.415	10.238	48.547	11.109	53
All	52.966	8.077	71.207	10.065	65.195	10.419	50.161	11.888	87

TABLE 12 Mean, Standard Deviation and Sample Size for PCI form Scores for Each of the Nine Conditions of Analysis for Principals

Condition	Form I		Form II		Form III		Form IV		
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Large Elementary	45.316	6.386	67.053	12.647			41.053	11.919	19
Small Elementary	47.563	8.904	68.406	11.164			41.812	9.441	32
Large Secondary	48.387	7.610	72.419	9.577			45.548	8.903	31
Small Secondary	53.833	9.067	71.167	9.721			50.500	9.100	30
Elementary	46.725	8.065	67.902	11.631			41.529	10.322	51
Secondary	51.066	8.731	71.803	9.588			47.984	9.267	61
Large	47.220	7.260	70.380	11.038			43.840	10.275	50
Small	50.597	9.453	69.742	10.497			46.016	10.189	62
All	49.089	8.673	70.027	10.698	60.455	11.632	45.045	10.239	112

TABLE 13 Mean, Standard Deviation and Sample Size for PCI form Scores for Each of the Nine Conditions of Analysis for Counselors

Condition	Form I		Form II		Form III		Form IV		N
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	
Large Elementary	48.786	10.134	72.607	9.731	69.464	10.326			28
Small Elementary	45.949	8.188	74.103	10.877	69.718	11.803			39
Large Secondary	54.192	10.628	69.962	7.871	67.000	10.210			26
Small Secondary	52.000	13.324	73.962	6.803	69.231	11.594			26
Elementary	47.134	9.089	73.478	10.364	69.612	11.129			67
Secondary	53.096	11.984	71.962	7.559	68.115	10.875			52
Large	51.389	10.632	71.333	8.902	68.278	10.249			54
Small	48.369	10.867	74.046	9.398	69.523	11.631			65
All	49.739	10.821	72.815	9.238	68.955	10.977	46.538	10.588	119

TABLE 14 Mean Self Pupil Control Ideology Scores, form I, for Teachers, Counselors and Principals

	Teachers		Principals		Counselors	
Condition	$\bar{X}_{TI}$	N	$\bar{X}_{PI}$	N	$\bar{X}_{CI}$	N
Large Elementary	50.7	16	45.3	19	48.8	28
Small Elementary	51.7	29	47.6	32	45.9	39
Large Secondary	54.4	18	48.4	31	54.2	26
Small Secondary	55.0	24	53.8	30	52.0	26
Elementary	51.3	45	46.7	51	47.1	67
Secondary	54.7	42	51.1	61	53.1	52
Large	52.6	34	47.2	50	51.4	54
Small	53.2	53	50.6	62	48.4	65
All	53.0	87	49.1	112	49.7	119

TABLE 15 Mean Form Scores for All Respondents and for Each Position Sampled

	All Respondents $\overline{X}$	All Teachers $\overline{X}$	All Principals $\overline{X}$	All Counselors $\overline{X}$
form I (self)	50.4	53.0	49.1	49.7
form II (about teachers)	71.4	71.2	70.0	72.8
form III (about principals)	64.9	65.2	60.5	68.9
form IV (about counselors)	47.0	50.2	45.0	46.5